

Compass

11-19, Cath. T. S.

RELATION
Of the First Voyages and Discoveries

Made by the SPANIARDS in America.

WITH
An Account of their unparallel'd Cruelties
on the Indians, in the destruction of a-
bove Forty Millions of People.

Together with the Propositions offer'd to the
King of Spain, to prevent the further Ruin
of the West-Indies.

By Don Bartholomew de las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa,
who was an Eye-witness of their Cruelties.

Illustrated with Cuts.

To which is added,
The Art of Travelling, shewing how a Man may
dispose his Travels to the best advantage.

L O N D O N,
Printed for Daniel Brown at the Black Swan and Bible
without Temple-Bar, and Andrew Bell at the Cross-
keys and Bible in Cornhil near Stocks-market. 1699.

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To.

Feb. 12, 1862

The PREFACE.

America was first discover'd by Christopher Columbus a Genoese in the year 1492, in the Name of Ferdinando King of Arragon, but takes its Name from Americus Vespucius a Florentine, who discover'd the Country of Brezil five years after, by order of Emanuel King of Portugal.

The Europeans had no sooner enter'd on this vast Continent, and the Islands about it, but the Natives shew'd 'em all imaginable Kindness and Respect, and were ready to worship 'em as Gods; but these soon took care to convince 'em of their Error, and to deliver 'em from the danger of falling into this sort of Idolatry, by treating 'em with all manner of Cruelties, and tormenting 'em like so many Devils: so that these barbarous People receiv'd as great a turn in their thoughts concerning the Spaniards, as the Barbarians of the Island of Melita did in respect of St. Paul; for as these believ'd him to be a God whom they had just before taken for a Murderer, so the other really found them to be Murderers, whom they had a little before esteem'd as so many Gods.

The following Relation of the Destruction of many Millions of Indians by all the inhuman methods the Spaniards could invent, would appear incredible, were not the truth of it confess'd, and attested by the Spaniards themselves, and among others, especially by Don Bartholomew de las Casas Bishop of Chiapa, who made large Complaints of these Cruelties

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etries to the King of Spain, and to the Royal Council for the Indies, with a design to put a stop to 'em if possible. That he is a Person of irreproachable Credit in this case, will appear by the following account, wherein he challenges all the World to disprove the truth of the matters of Fact he asserts, while he stood the Test of a Court who could easily have detected him, if he had attempted to impose on 'em by a malicious Falshood.

This Bishop writes with such an Air of Honesty, Sincerity, and Charity, as would very well have become one of a better Religion than that in which he had the unhappiness to be educated. It may well surprise the Reader to hear a Spanish Prelat declaim so loudly against Persecution, and plead so freely for Liberty of Conscience in a Country subjugated to the Inquisition. To hear him in his dispute against Doctor Sepulueda, decry all methods of Violence for the propagation of the Truth, as more sutable to the Maxims of Mahometism than the Principles of Christianity: To hear him assert the Natural Right of all Mankind to Liberty and Property, and inveigh against all Usurpation and Tyranny in the smartest Terms, is enough to move any one's Wonder, and Pity too, when on the other hand 'tis observ'd how much he magnifies the Power and Authority of the Pope in some of his Propositions contain'd in the following Treatise. But all may serve to convince one how great an advantage or disadvantage a Man has as he pleads the Cause of Truth or Error; and of the great difference there is between the genuin Language of Reason and good Sense, and the servil Prejudices of Bigotry and Superstition.

Tis

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'Tis no less a Subject of Admiration that a Book of this stamp, which reflects so sharply on Persecution and Tyranny, should see the light cum privilegio at this time of day in France, where the Civil and Religious Liberty of Subjects have not been provided for with the utmost Care, where the Will of the Prince has long since been the Law, and Dragoons of late years the principal Missionaries for the Propagation of the Gospel.

This Treatise was first compos'd in Spanish in the beginning of the Reign of Charles V. and was long since translated and printed in more Languages than one; but having lately receiv'd a new dress in Modern French at Paris, 'tis hop'd this Translation from the French will not be unacceptable to the English Nation. I'm sure the above-mention'd Principles of the Bishop of Chiapa concerning Property and Liberty both Civil and Religious, are more agreeable to the Genius and Constitution of this Island, than to the present temper of that part of the Continent which lies nearest to it; and so this Book may expect at least as favorable a reception in this Nation as in that where it has been lately publish'd.

What the Bishop says here and there in favor of his own Religion, is so weak, and has been so often exploded here and every where else where the Reformation has obtain'd, that 'twould be unnecessary to confute any of those Popish Fancies in this Preface. 'Tis enough for me that I have faithfully discharg'd the part of a Translator. And if some particular things occur more than once, it must be consider'd on the one hand, that the Bishop had need to mention

them

The PREFACE.

them on divers occasions, as when he disputed, and when he wrote his Arguments for the use of the King of Spain, &c. and on the other, that the Importance of the Affair, and the Greatness of his Zeal to have the Grievances he complain'd of redress'd, made so deep an Impression of some things on his Mind that he could not forbear to repeat 'em.

As for the Translation it self, I hope those that shall have the Curiosity to compare it with the French Copy, will find that I have done it Justice. And if there is not that exactness of Method and Stile the present Age expects, it may be the better excus'd, when 'tis consider'd how long since the Original was compos'd. However, the extraordinary things contain'd in this History will make sufficient amends for any Defects in the Composition of the Bishop of Chiapa, and for the abrupt Transitions sometimes us'd by the Compiler of this Treatise in putting the Bishop's several Pieces together, of which it almost wholly consists.

I shall only add, That as no History in the World can parallel this for the inhuman slaughter of such vast numbers of People; so these Barbarities, together with the bloody Croisades in the 12th and 13th Centuries, as well as the many Persecutions and Massacres since the Reformation, render it no difficult matter to discern to what Church that Prophetick Character agrees, that in her was found not only the Blood of Prophets and of Saints, but of all that were slain upon the Earth. Rev.
18. 23.

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 A Letter to a Member of Parliament, shewing that a Restraint on the Press is inconsistent with the Protestant Religion, and dangerous to the Liberties of the Nation.
 A Letter to his Majesty King *William* concerning the Expediencies us'd to support the English Monarchy.



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The Cruelties us'd by the Spaniards on the Indians



Fig. 8.



Fig. 7.



Fig. 8. 55. 106.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 14. 15. 51. 81.



Fig. 14. 15. 85.



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Fig. 8.



Fig. 44.



Fig. 44.



Fig. 47.



Fig. 25. 45. 50.

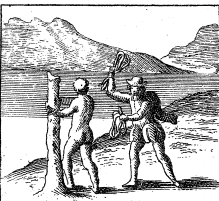


Fig. 120.

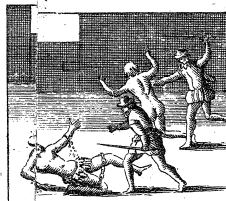


Fig. 35.



Fig. 97.



Fig. 40. 94.

A
 R E L A T I O N
 OF THE
 VOYAGES and CRUELITIES
 Of the SPANIARDS in the
 WEST-INDIES.

THE *West-Indies* were discover'd in the Year 1492 ; the year after the *Spaniards* settled there, and inhabited this new World. But for the space of these 49 years last past, an infinite number of People have left *Spain* to dwell in these Countries : they generally touch at *Hispaniola*, which is a very fertile and large Island, and is become very famous : The Extent of it is above 600 Leagues ; 'tis surrounded with a multitude of small Islands, and abounds so with Inhabitants, that there's no Country in the World more populous. The Continent, which is above 250 Leagues distant from it, is of a vast Extent ; a great part of which has been already discovered, and fresh Discoveries are made every day : and such great numbers of People inhabit all these Countries, that it seems as if Providence had amass'd together the greatest part of Mankind in this part of the World.

B

All

All these People are naturally simple, they know not what belongs to Policy and Address, to Trick and Artifice; but are very obedient and faithful to their rightful Governors: They are Humble, Patient, and Submissive, even to the *Spaniards* who have subdued and enslav'd 'em: they love to live quietly, and are enemies to disputes and quarrels, hardly knowing what 'tis to be malicious, and seldom meditating Revenge.

They are a weak effeminate People, not capable of enduring great Fatigues; they care not to be expos'd to Toil and Labour, and their Life is of no long continuance; their Constitution is so nice, that a small fit of Sickness carries 'em off. The Children of their Princes and Nobility, are in all respects dealt with like those of the meanest Subjects: in which they differ much from our *Europeans*, among whom the Children of Kings and great Men, are brought up with all the delicacy and tenderness imaginable.

The People of this Island are so very poor, that they live in the want of almost every thing; they are very cool and indifferent in the pursuit of temporal Advantages, and seem not to be inclin'd to Pride and Ambition; their way of living is so frugal, that the antient Hermites in the Wilderness were scarce more Sober and Abstemious. All the Indians in general go naked, only they have the modesty to wear a sort of Apron about their Waste. They sometimes use a kind of shaggy Covering, or a piece of Cloth an Ell or two long: Those of the best Fashion lie on Beds made with Girts tyed in Knots at the four Corners: their Apprehension is quick and subtle, therefore they are very docile, capable of receiving the impressions of sound Doctrine, and easily inclin'd to embrace the Principles of the Catholick Religion: They are no Enemies to
good

good Manners, but have a greater disposition to Civility than many other Nations, because their manner of Life is free from that care and distraction in which the perplexity of Business involves others. The very first Ideas and Instructions that are given 'em of our Religion, kindle in their Souls so great a desire to the Sacraments and Divine Service of our Church, that those Monks that instruct 'em, have need of a great deal of Patience to moderate the impetuosity of their Minds, and to answer all the Questions they have the curiosity to ask. And it may truly be said that these Indian Nations would be the most happy in the World, if endued with the knowledge of the true God. The Spaniards themselves who have treated 'em so ill, cannot but confess the goodness of their natural Temper, and the great disposition of their minds to every kind of Vertue.

The Almighty seems to have inspir'd these People with a meekness and softness of Humour like that of Lambs: and the Spaniards who have given 'em so much Trouble, and fallen upon 'em so fiercely, resemble savage Tigers, Wolves, and Lions, when rag'd with pressing Hunger. They applied themselves forty years together wholly to the massacring the poor Wretches that inhabited the Islands; putting them to all kinds of unheard of Torments and Punishments, (a part of which Cruelties exercised on these miserable *Indians* we design to describe in the sequel of this Work) insomuch that this Island which before the arrival of the Europeans, contained about three Millions of People, is now reduc'd to less than three hundred. The Island of *Cuba*, the length of which is equal to the distance between *Validol* and *Rome*, is entirely desert and destitute of its Inhabitants, and nothing but Ruins now to be seen in it. The Islands of *St. John*, and *Jamaica*, have met with the like Treatment, which were
B 2 very

very fertile and populous, but are render'd desolate and waste by the like means. The Islands near *Cuba* and *Hispaniola* on the North-side are sixty in number, which are commonly call'd the Isles of Giants, of which the least fruitful abounds more with Plenty than the Royal Garden of *Seville*; but they are destitute of Inhabitants, tho'tis as wholesom an Air as men can breath in. When the *Spaniards* first landed in these Isles, there were above five hundred thousand Souls; they cut the Throats of a great part of these, and carried away the rest by force to make 'em work in the Mines of *Hispaniola*. When some pious Persons embarked to visit these Isles after the Ravage the *Spaniards* had made in 'em, they found but eleven People left there: It was from the motives of Charity and Compassion they undertook this difficult and perilous Voyage, in hope to instruct these poor Creatures in the knowledg of Jesus Christ. Above 30 Isles near that of *St. John* were entirely depopulated, tho of a vast Extent, so that there is scarce an Inhabitant to be found in them.

As for the Continent 'tis certain, and what I myself know to be true, that the *Spaniards* have ruined ten Kingdoms there, bigger than all *Spain*, by the commission of all sorts of Barbarity and unheard of Cruelties. They have driven away or kill'd all the Inhabitants; so that all these Kingdoms are desolate to this day, and reduc'd to a most deplorable Condition, tho this was formerly the best peopled Country in the World. We dare assert, without fear of incurring the reproach of exaggerating, that in the space of those forty years in which the *Spaniards* exercis'd their intolerable Tyranny in this new World, they unjustly put to death above twelve Millions of People, counting Men, Women, and Children: and it may be affirm'd without injury to Truth, upon a just Calculation, that during this
space

space of Time, above fifty Millions have died in these Countries.

The *Spaniards* who invaded these Isles, and boasted of their Christianity, made use of two ways principally to exterminate the Inhabitants: the first of which was by an unjust and bloody War carried on with the utmost Barbarity and Cruelty; the other was that detestable Policy which inspir'd them to massacre all that had any remains of Liberty, or endeavour'd to shake off their Tyrannical Yoke, and to free themselves from so unjust and intolerable a Slavery; for this the bravest, most potent, and most warlike Nations off the *Indians* attempted. When the *Spaniards* had kill'd all the Men in the War, they suffer'd the Women and Children to live, but with the imposition of a Yoke so cruel and insupportable, that their Condition was rendred as miserable as that of Beasts. A multitude of other particular methods were taken for the destruction of these poor *Americans*, but they may be reduc'd in general to those two we have mentioned.

The Gold and Silver these People had in their possession, was the Motive that violently prompted the *Europeans* to persecute and destroy 'em. The earnest desire they had of speedily enriching themselves, in order to procure such Honour and Dignity as far exceeded their Condition, inspir'd 'em with all this inhumanity. In a word, their Avarice and Ambition were arriv'd to an excess beyond Imagination; the immense Riches of the new World, the tractable, sweet, and good disposition of the *Indians*, which render'd a descent into their Country easy to any that would attempt it, have occasion'd all the Ravage and Spoil, all the horrid Massacres and Cruelties which the *Spaniards* have caus'd 'em to suffer. They made so little account of the miserable Inhabitants of these Islands, that I may aver, without
B 3 fear

fear of being accus'd either of Imposture, or of speaking inconsiderately, since 'tis that of which I have been an Eye-witness, that they valued them less, and treated them worse than Beasts. They had so little regard to the Salvation of their Souls, that they would not give themselves the trouble so much as to speak of the Christian Faith and Sacraments to those numberless multitudes of Men and Women whom they sacrific'd to their Ambition and Tyranny. And that which aggravates the enormity of their Crimes, is, that these poor *Indians* had offer'd 'em no Injury, but on the contrary, gave 'em as much Honour and Respect as if they had been sent from Heaven; till they were wearied out with repeated Outrages and Massacres, and constrain'd to betake themselves to Arms contrary to their inclination, and to repel force by force, to secure themselves from the horrible Violences and Insults of their Enemies, who invented divers kinds of Torments for them, with a Barbarity beyond all Description.

A particular Account of what the Spaniards did in Hispaniola.

AT this Island the *Spaniards* arriv'd in their first Voyages, and here began to persecute and murder the *Indians*, taking away their Wives and Children, and using 'em, or rather abusing 'em at their pleasure. They devour'd all that these poor Creatures had amass'd together for their Subsistence with a great deal of Care and Labour, not content with what they freely offer'd 'em as far as their Poverty and the meanness of their Condition would permit: for they are satisfied with what is of pure Necessity, not troubling themselves with superfluities,

or

or laying up great stores before hand. One *Spaniard* would consume in a day, that which would have suffic'd three *Indian* Families of ten Persons each, for the space of a whole Month. This ill treatment and spoil soon made the Inhabitants of this Island lose the Esteem they had conceiv'd of the *Spaniards*, whom they at first look'd upon as messengers from Heaven: so that at length they began to hide their Wives and Children, and whatever Goods they had from 'em. Some retired into Caves, others fled up into the Mountains to avoid meeting with the *Spaniards* who now appear'd so terrible and cruel to 'em. The *Spaniards* did not content themselves to beat 'em, and to offer 'em many other Indignities, but cut their Throats in cold Blood: and without any respect either to Age or Quality, put their Princes, and the Governors of their Cities to death: They came to that height of Impudence and Villany, that a *Spanish* Captain had the Insolence to abuse the Wife of the greatest King of the Island. This vile fact drove 'em quite to despair, so that from that time they sought means of driving the *Spaniards* out of their Country; they betook themselves to Arms, and did what they could to defend themselves against these Tyrants: but the Weapons they us'd were neither capable of defending them, nor of offending their Enemies to any purpose; and were more like those that Children use to play with, than such as are fit for Soldiers to use in War.

The *Spaniards*, who were mounted on fine Horses, and armed with Lances and Swords, look'd upon Enemies so meanly equip'd with the greatest Contempt, and committed the most horrible Slaughters with Impunity. They pass'd through the several Cities and Towns, sparing neither Age nor Sex, but kill'd Women and Children as well as Men:

B 4

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They rip'd up Women with Child, that Root and Branch might be destroy'd together. They laid Wagers one with another, who should cleave a Man down with his Sword most dexterously at one blow; or who should take his Head from his Shoulders most cleverly; or who should run a Man through after the most artificial manner: They tore away Children out of their Mothers Arms, and dash'd out their Brains against the Rocks; others they threw into the River, diverting themselves with this brutish Sport, and giving great shouts while they saw 'em in this misery: And to add insulting Scoffs to their Cruelty, advis'd 'em to struggle in the Water, and try if they could save themselves from drowning. They held up the Bodies of Mothers and Children together upon their Lances: they set up Gibbets, and hang'd up thirteen of these poor Creatures in honour to Jesus Christ and his twelve Apostles (as they blasphemously express'd themselves): They kindled a great Fire under these Gibbets, to burn those they had hang'd upon 'em: They cut off the Hands of those they sav'd alive, and sent 'em away in that miserable condition, bidding 'em carry the News of their Calamities to those that were retir'd into the Mountains to escape the *Spaniards*.

They erected a small Scaffold, supported with Forks and Poles, upon which to execute their Chiefs, and those of the most considerable quality among 'em. When they had laid 'em at length upon this Scaffold, they kindled a gentle Fire, to make 'em feel themselves die gradually, till the poor Wretches after the most exquisite Pain and Anguish, attended with horrible Screeches and Outcries, at length expired. I one day saw four or five Persons of the highest Rank in this Island burn'd after this manner. But the dreadful Cries this Torment extorted from 'em, incommoding a Spanish Captain, and hindring his

his Sleep, he commanded 'em to be presently strangled. But a certain Officer whose Name I know, and whose Relations are well known at *Seville*, put Gags into their Mouths to hinder 'em from making a Noise, that he might not be depriv'd of the brutish Pleasure of broiling them gently, till they breath'd out their Souls in this Torment. I have been an Eye-witness of all these Cruelties, and an infinite number of others which I pass over in silence.

And because these poor People took all the care they could to hide themselves from a Generation of Men so barbarous and wicked as the *Spaniards*, who had no Sentiment of Humanity, Honour, or Religion left, but acted as if they were made for nothing else but to destroy Mankind; to add further to their brutish Cruelty, they taught Dogs to go a hunting for these poor Wretches, and to devour 'em as if they had been Beasts. And because the *Indians* after they had been provok'd with so many unheard of Injuries, now and then kill'd one of them when they met with 'em stragling; the *Spaniards* made a Law among themselves to massacre a hundred *Indians* for every *Spaniard* they should kill,

Of the Kingdoms contain'd in the Island of Hispaniola.

Hispaniola contains five great Kingdoms, the Kings of which were very powerful, and govern'd all the other Chiefs, whose number is very great: yet there are some independent Countries which have their particular Lords, and are not subject to any of those Kings. One of these Kings they call *Magua*, which signifies a *Plain*, his Name being

being taken from the situation of his Kingdom, which is extremely pleasant. This Plain is 80 Leagues in extent from South to North, but is only five, eight, and sometimes ten Leagues in breadth. 'Tis encompass'd on every side with high Mountains; 'tis water'd with a great number of Brooks and Rivers, of which there are twelve that come not behind those famous Rivers the *Ebre*, the *Duere*, and the *Guadalquivir* for bigness. The Rivers that water this Plain, especially those falling down from a Mountain that looks towards the West, abound with Gold. This Mountain bounds the Province of *Cibao*, where the Mines bearing that Name produce that pure Gold of the fineness of 24 Carrats, so much talk'd of in *Europe*. The Sovereign of this Kingdom was call'd *Guarionex*; he had under him such powerful Subjects, that one of 'em could bring 16000 Men into the field for the King's Service. I knew some of these Indian Lords. This King was very submissive to the Kings of *Spain*, and express'd a great deal of Affection to them. His Humour was mild and peaceable; and his Soul capable of every Vertue. He once order'd all his Subjects to bring him each of 'em a great Purse of Gold; but finding they were not in a condition to answer his Requirement, he remitted half this Tax. The Inhabitants of this Island have not the Art of extracting Gold out of the Mines. This *Cacique* voluntarily offer'd himself to the Service of the King of *Spain*, on condition the Queen *Isabella* would take care that those Lands should be cultivated, which the *Spaniards* inhabited at their first Arrival in the *Indies*, extending about the space of 50 Leagues towards *St. Domingo*: for he said his Subjects had no Experience or Skill to extract Gold out of the Mines. If this Condition had been accepted, he would faithfully and joyfully have accomplished

plished his Promise, which would have been of vast advantage to the King of *Spain*, who might have taken above three Millions of Gold every year out of these Mines; and consequently there might now have been fifty Cities in this Province as fine as *Seville*.

But what grateful Acknowledgments did the *Spaniards* return to the kind Offers of this Prince, who gave such Proofs of his Good-will to 'em, and sincere desire to serve 'em? They cover'd him with Shame and Infamy, his Wife was violated (as has been said) by a *Spanish* Captain, a Wretch unworthy of the Christian Name. This Prince might have waited for an opportunity to revenge himself of this Outrage, but chose rather to retire and live in Obscurity and Exile in the Province of one of his Subjects, voluntarily abdicating his Kingdom and Government. The *Spaniards* being inform'd of the place of his Retreat, pursued him with the utmost Fury, without giving him time to hide himself. They cruelly declar'd War against that Indian Lord that had given him Sanctuary, and had receiv'd him with a becoming Humanity and Respect; they ravag'd all his Country, and never left off their Cruelties till they had found and seiz'd this Fugitive Prince, whom they loaded with Chains, and put on Ship-board to be carried into *Spain* as their Prisoner. This Vessel was cast away in the Voyage, a great many *Spaniards* drown'd, and an incredible sum of Gold and Silver lost: Among the rest there was a prodigious lump of Gold as big as a great Loaf, which weigh'd 3600 Crowns. Thus did the Vengeance of God meet with 'em for the enormous Crimes they had committed in the *Indies*.

The second Kingdom is called *Marien*, where there is a fine Port just at the end of the other Kingdom on the North-side: This Kingdom is larger

larger than *Portugal*, and more fruitful, and was stor'd with vast numbers of Inhabitants; there are divers Mountains in it, and several Mines abounding with Gold and Copper. The Name of the King of this Country was *Guacanagari*, who had divers Lords under his Jurisdiction. 'Twas in this Country that famous Pilot who first discover'd *America* landed. *Guacanagari* receiv'd him with all imaginable Hospitality and Civility; he made the best Entertainment he could for all the *Spaniards* who accompanied him: when their Ship was sunk, they were receiv'd at this Prince's Court as kindly as if they had been in the Houses of their own natural Relations: here they met with all manner of Refreshments and Recruits the Country afforded, which were given 'em with great Expressions of Humanity and Compassion on the account of their Hardships. This King afterwards to secure himself from the barbarous Usage of the *Spaniards*, when they began to commit their Massacres in his Country, abandon'd his Kingdom, and was forc'd to retreat into some of the remote Mountains, where he died with the Fatigues and Inconveniencies to which he was expos'd. Those Indian Lords that depended on him found no better Treatment, but perish'd under that horrible Slavery to which the *Spaniards* had reduc'd 'em.

Maguana is the third Kingdom of this Island, and is an admirable Country, both for Health and Fruitfulness. Here is made the best Sugar in *America*. *Caonabo* was the King of it, who surpass'd all the other Kings both in regard of his Power, the Riches of his Kingdom, and the Respect and Ceremony with which he was honour'd. This Prince not keeping on his Guard, nor at all distrusting what Tricks the *Spaniards* design'd to play him, was surpriz'd in his own House by the Artifices they had

laid

laid to insnare him. He was put in a Ship to be carried into *Spain*, and there were at the same time six Vessels in the Port ready to set Sail, when all on a sudden there rose a horrible Tempest, which batter'd the Ships to pieces and sunk 'em, with all the *Spaniards* that were on board. King *Caonabo* loaded with Chains perish'd, together with the Vessel in which he was embark'd. The Almighty was pleas'd to display his just and terrible Judgment by this sudden Storm, in destroying so many *Spaniards*, and thereby punishing the Crimes they had committed in abusing the poor *Indians*. This King had three or four Brothers, all of 'em valiant and courageous Princes; who being much provok'd at the unjust Captivity of the King, their Brother and Sovereign, and inform'd of the Ravage and Massacres the *Spaniards* had made in other neighbouring Kingdoms, and after all hearing the News of the fatal End of their Brother, betook themselves to Arms, and sought means of revenging themselves on their Enemies. The *Spaniards* attack'd 'em with their Cavalry, which is very formidable to the *Indians*, whom they soon conquer'd, and made so prodigious a Slaughter among 'em, that half the Kingdom was depopulated and became desert after this Defeat.

Xavagua is the fourth Kingdom of *Hispaniola*, and is as it were the Heart and Centre of all this Island; the Language of it is the most refin'd and polite. The People of this Kingdom are the most civiliz'd, and their Manners more cultivated than those of other parts of the Country: and there are a greater number of great Lords and Persons of Quality among 'em. These People are better shap'd, and have a finer Aspect than those of the other Kingdoms. The King's Name was *Bebechio*, he had a Sister call'd *Anacaona*; both of 'em heap'd their Favours

vours on the *Spaniards* when they landed in their Country, and with a great deal of Generosity sav'd 'em from Death, which they could not otherwise have avoided: They left no Stone unturn'd to shew themselves obliging to the Kings of *Spain*. After *Bebechio's* Death his Sister *Anacaona* continued absolute Mistress of the whole Kingdom. One day the Governor of the Island, accompanied with 60 Horse and 300 Foot, sends a Summons to about 300 of the greatest Lords of the Country to attend his Person. These few Horsemen alone were able to have ravag'd and laid waste not only all this Island, but even the whole Continent, so defenceless were these poor People. The Indian Nobles, not at all suspecting any treacherous Design, were by the Governor's Order brought into a House cover'd with Straw, which he commanded to be set on fire, where they perish'd miserably. Those of 'em who attempted to escape were pursued by the Spanish Troopers, and kill'd without Mercy. They also kill'd a vast multitude of the common People, cutting 'em and running 'em through with their Swords and Lances. This same Governor caus'd Queen *Anacaona*, who had the sovereign Authority after the Death of her Brother (as has been said) to be hang'd, that he might disgrace the Memory of that Princess as much as he could by so vile and ignominious a Death. If at any time a *Spaniard*, either touch'd with the Sentiments of Compassion, or prompted with those of Avarice, thought fit to spare one of these poor Wretches for his own Service; another would come transported with Rage, and fall upon him in his presence, and either run him through the Body, or cut off his Legs, so as to render him unserviceable. Some of these *Indians* who escap'd this Massacre retir'd into an Island not above eight Leagues distant from this Kingdom, to

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shelter themselves from the Fury of the *Spaniards*; but these were condemned by the Governor to perpetual Slavery.

The Name of the fifth Kingdom is *Hiquey*: *Hiquanama* the Queen, who govern'd it, tho very much advanc'd in Years and decrepit, was hang'd by order of the *Spaniards*, who tormented an infinite number of the Inhabitants of this Kingdom by divers kinds of cruel Punishments. Some they burn'd alive, they cut off the Arms and Legs of others, and made Slaves of the rest. There are so many things to be said of the ill Treatment and Cruelty the *Spaniards* exercis'd against the People of this Island, that 'tis impossible to recount 'em all; and if that could be done, the recital of 'em would appear incredible: and yet the *Indians* gave the *Spaniards* no occasion to engage in so barbarous a War against 'em, and to commit such Violences upon 'em; but one may truly say, these poor Creatures liv'd in as great Subjection and Obedience to the *Spaniards*, as the most submissive and obsequious Order of Monks do in the most regular and well-disciplin'd Monastery; so that there was no lawful occasion given 'em to rob those of their Property, or condemn 'em to a rigorous Slavery, who had found means of escaping their bloody Massacres. 'Tis further to be observ'd, that the *Indians* offer'd no Affront to the *Spaniards* when they first arriv'd in *America*: So that they had no colourable Pretext for Revenge, or the least right to punish 'em after so cruel a manner. As for those Sins, the Punishment of which God has reserv'd to himself, such as Hatred, Envy, the passionate desire of Revenge, the *Spaniards* had no occasion to reproach 'em on this account, since these People have scarce more Strength and Courage than Children of ten Years old. On the other side, the *Indians* had a thousand just Reasons

sons to make War with the *Spaniards*, tho these had no reasonable pretence to treat them as they did with a barbarity equal to that of the most savage and inhuman Tyrants.

After this unjust War was ended with the Destruction and Massacre of all the Inhabitants of these Countries, having reserv'd few besides the Women and Children, they divided these among themselves, some keeping 30 of them, others 40, others 100, some 200, according to the Interest they had in the Tyrant of the Island, whom they honour'd with the Title of Governor; for 'twas he that gave 'em these *Indians*; on condition they would cause 'em to be instructed in the Maxims of the Catholick Religion, tho the Persons to whose care he committed 'em were the most ignorant, cruel, covetous, and vitious of all Mankind. These (as might well have been expected) took no care to instruct 'em; but confined the men to the Mines to get out Gold with incredible Toil and Labour; they us'd the Women for Husbandry and Tillage, tho this last was a Labour hard enough for men of the most robust and vigorous Constitution. They fed 'em only with Herbs, or such like Food, that had but little Substance or Nourishment in it: So that the Milk dry'd up in the Breasts of the Women that gave suck, and their Children in a little time pin'd away and dyed with Faintness and Hunger. The Men having no Conversation with the Women, but dwelling in separate Houses, there could be no farther propagation of Children by 'em. Thus at length the Men perish'd in the Mines with Hunger and Labour, the Women dyed under the pressure of their servitude in the Fields; so that all the Inhabitants of this populous Island were exterminated in a short time. And indeed if the same course were taken every where else, all Mankind would be destroy'd in the

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space of a few Years. The *Spaniards* oblig'd these poor Creatures to carry Burdens of fourscore or a hundred pound weight for a hundred or two hundred Leagues. And that they might travel the more at ease, they would make these *Indians* carry them in Chairs and Horse-litters on their Shoulders: They us'd 'em like Beasts of Burden to carry their Utensils, and what they pleas'd either for their Profit or Pleasure, so that the Backs and Shoulders of these poor Slaves were black with Bruises occasion'd by the great weight of their Burdens. These incredible Fatigues did not secure 'em from Blows with Cudgels and Whips, accompanied with Curses, nor from a great many other Punishments. But 'twould be endless to describe all the Miseries these unfortunate People were made to suffer; it would require whole Volumes, and the reading of so deplorable a Story would deeply affect and soften every Mind not quite divested of Humanity.

It is to be observ'd that the Destruction and Desolation of these Provinces began since the Death of the most serene Queen *Isabella*, who departed this Life in the Year 1504. Before this time the *Spaniards* never durst exercise their Cruelties on the People of this Island, nor destroy their Country: if they offer'd 'em any Violence, 'twas as it were by stealth, and with great Precaution. But after the Death of this Princess, the Desolation became general. Before this fatal time, they took great care to conceal whatever Hardships they made these People endure, because the Queen was marvellously zealous both to promote the Instruction and Salvation of the Inhabitants of this new World, and to advance their Temporal Advantages; and accordingly she gave us many Examples of her Piety and Zeal.

In whatever part of *America* the *Spaniards* set their Feet, they perpetrated the same abominable

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Villanies and Massacres, to oppress and exterminate these poor Innocents. They seem'd to take Pleasure in the invention of new kinds of Torments, and their Fury augmented every day more and more, till God Almighty provok'd by so many horrid Crimes, abandon'd 'em to a reprobate Sense, and permitted 'em to fall as it were from deep to deep, and from one Precipice to another.

Of the Islands of St. John and Jamaica.

IN the Year 1509 the *Spaniards* went into the Islands of *St. John* and *Jamaica* (which resemble delicious Gardens) with the same Intentions and Designs they had carried on in the Island of *Hispaniola*. Here they committed a world of Robberies and Cruelties, just as they had done in other places where-ever they came. The Marks of their Devastations and Murders were every where to be seen. They laid all places desolate where they arriv'd, exposing Men to the Mercy of Beasts. And after having inflicted all sorts of Torments on 'em, put 'em in the Mines to work like Slaves as long as they liv'd. They entirely depopulated these Countries, so that in these two Islands, where there were computed to have been above 600000 Inhabitants before their Arrival, there are scarce 200 now to be found: The rest being all destroy'd with Misery and Hardship, and that without having any Pains taken with 'em to instruct 'em in our Religion, or to administer the Sacraments to 'em.

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Of the Island of Cuba.

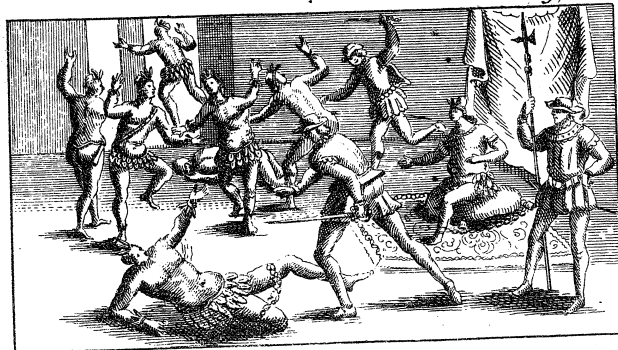
THE *Spaniards* pass'd into the Island of *Cuba* in the year 1511, which contains as much ground in length as from *Valladolid* to *Rome*. There were formerly fine and flourishing Provinces to be seen, fill'd with vast numbers of People, who met with no milder or kinder Treatment from the *Spaniards* than the rest. On the contrary, they seem'd to have redoubled their Cruelty upon those People. There happen'd divers things in this Island that deserve to be remark'd. A rich and potent *Cacique* nam'd *Hathuey* was retir'd into the Isle of *Cuba*, to avoid that Slavery and Death with which the *Spaniards* menac'd him: and being inform'd that his Persecutors were upon the point of landing in this Island, he assembled all his Subjects and Domesticks together, and made a Speech to 'em after this manner. You know (said he) the Report that is spread abroad, that the *Spaniards* are ready to invade this Island; and you are not ignorant of the ill Usage our Friends and Country-men have met with at their hands, and the Cruelties they have committed at Hayci (so *Hispaniola* is called in their Language) they are now coming hither with a design to exercise the same Outrages and Persecutions upon us. Are you ignorant (says he) of the ill Intentions of the People of whom I am speaking? We know not (say they all with one Voice) upon what account they come hither, but we know they are a very wicked and cruel People. I'll tell you then (reply'd the *Cacique*) that these Europeans worship a very covetous sort of God, so that 'tis difficult to satisfy him; and to perform the Worship they render to this Idol, they'll exact immense Treasures of us, and will use their utmost

Endeavour to reduce us to a miserable state of Slavery, or else to put us to death. Upon which he took a Box full of Gold and valuable Jewels which he had with him, and exposing it to their view: *Here is (says he) the God of the Spaniards, whom we must honour with our Sports and Dances, to see if we can appease him, and render him propitious to us; that so he may command the Spaniards not to offer us any Injury.* They all applauded this Speech, and fell a leaping and dancing round the Box, till they had quite tired and spent themselves. After which the *Cacique Hatbuey* resuming his Discourse, continued to speak to them in these terms: *If we keep this God (says he) till he's taken away from us, he'll certainly cause our Lives to be taken from us; and therefore I am of opinion 'twill be the best way to cast him into the River.* They all approv'd of this Advice, and went all together with one accord to throw this pretended God into the River.

The *Spaniards* were no sooner arriv'd in the Isle of *Cuba*, but this *Cacique* who knew 'em too well, began to think of retreating, to secure himself from their Fury, and resolv'd to defend himself by force of Arms, if he should happen to meet with them; but he unfortunately fell into their Hands: and because he had taken all the precautions he could to avoid the Persecutions of so cruel and impious a People, and had taken Arms to defend his own Life, as well as the Lives of his Subjects; this was made a capital Crime in him, for which he was burn'd alive. While he was in the midst of the Flames, tied to a Stake, a certain Franciscan Frier of great Piety and Vertue, took upon him to speak to him of God and our Religion, and to explain to him some Articles of the Catholick Faith, of which he had never heard a word before, promising him Eternal Life, if he would believe, and threatening him with eternal



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and Cruelties in the West-Indies.

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nal Torment, if he continued obstinate in his Infidelity. *Hasbuey* reflecting on the matter, as much as the Place and Condition in which he was would permit, ask'd the Frier that instructed him, whether the Gate of Heaven was open to the *Spaniards*; and being answer'd that such of 'em as were good men might hope for entrance there: The *Cacyque*, without any farther deliberation, told him, he had no mind to go to Heaven, for fear of meeting with such cruel and wicked Company as they were; but would much rather choose to go to Hell, where he might be deliver'd from the troublefom sight of such kind of People: To so great a degree have the wicked Actions and Cruelties of the *Spaniards* dishonor'd God and his Religion in the Minds of the *Americans*.

One day there came to us a great number of the Inhabitants of a famous City, situate above 10 Leagues from the place where we lodg'd, to complement us, and bring us all sorts of Provisions and Refreshments, which they presented us with great marks of Joy, carelling us after the most obliging manner they could. But that evil Spirit that possess'd the *Spaniards* put 'em into such a sudden Fury against 'em, that they fell upon 'em and massacred above 3000 of 'em, both Men and Women, upon the spot, without having receiv'd the least Offence or Provocation from 'em. I was an Eye-witness of this Barbarity; and whatever endeavours were us'd to appease these inhuman Creatures, 'twas impossible to reduce 'em to Reason; so resolutely were they bent to satiate their brutal Rage by this barbarous Action.

Soon after this I sent Messengers to the most noted *Indians* of the Province of *Havane*, to encourage and engage 'em to continue in their Country, and not to trouble themselves to seek remote places to hide in, and advis'd 'em to come to us with assurance

of our Protection. They knew well enough what Authority I had over the *Spaniards*, and I gave 'em my word, no Injury should be offer'd 'em: for the past Cruelties and Massacres their Country-men had suffer'd, had spread Fear and Terror through all the Country; and this Assurance I gave 'em was with the Consent and Advice of the Captains and other Officers. When we enter'd into this Province, two and twenty of their Chiefs came to us, and the very next Morning the Commander of our Troops, without any regard to the Promise that had been made 'em, would needs sentence 'em to be burnt, pretending 'twas best to put these People to death, because they might one time or other use some Stratagem to surprize and destroy us: And I had all the difficulty in the world to prevent 'em from throwing 'em into the Fire.

The *Indians* of *Havane* seeing themselves reduc'd to a state of severe Slavery, and that there was no Remedy left, but they were irrecoverably undone, began to seek Refuge in the Deserts and Mountains, to secure themselves if possible from Death: Some strangled themselves in despair; Parents hang'd themselves, together with their Children, to put the speedier end to their Miseries by Death. Above two hundred *Indians* perish'd here after this manner, to avoid the Cruelty of the *Spaniards*; and abundance of them afterwards voluntarily condemn'd themselves to this kind of Death, hoping thus in a moment to put a period to the Miseries their Persecutors inflict'd on 'em.

A certain *Spaniard* who had the Title of Sovereign in this Island, and had three hundred *Indians* in his Service, destroy'd a hundred and sixty of 'em in less than three Months, by the excessive Labour he continually exacted of 'em. The Recruits he took to fill up their places were destroy'd after
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the same manner; and he would in a short time have unpeopled the whole Island, if Death, which took him out of the way very happily for those poor Wretches, had not shelter'd 'em from his Cruelties. I saw with my own Eyes above six thousand Children die in the space of three or four Months, their Parents being forc'd to abandon 'em, being condemn'd to the Mines. After this the *Spaniards* took up a Resolution to pursue those *Indians* that were retir'd into the Mountains, and massacred multitudes of 'em; so that this Island was depopulated and laid waste in a very little time. And 'tis a most lamentable Spectacle to see so fine a Country thus miserably ruin'd and unpeopled.

Of the Continent.

IN the Year 1514, a merciless Governor, destitute of the least sentiment of Pity or Humanity, who was deservedly accounted a barbarous Tyrant, and cruel Instrument of the Wrath of God, pierc'd into the Continent, being follow'd by a great many *Spaniards*, all animated with the Spirit, and pursuing the Designs of their Leader. Tho some of his stamp had enter'd the Continent before him, and had kill'd a great many People, yet they had only exercis'd their Robberies and Cruelties on the Sea-Coasts. But he of whom I am now speaking, surpass'd all his Predecessors in Cruelty and Impiety. He was not content to ravage the Sea-Coasts, but laid waste great Kingdoms and vast Countries, and destroy'd an infinite number of *Indians* in the gross Darkeness of their Idolatry. He run through above fifty Leagues of the finest Country in the World, and carried Desolation with him where-ever he
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went, ruining in a little time the most pleasant and fruitful Country in the *West-Indies*. There were before the Arrival of this Tyrant, abundance of Villages, Towns and Cities, that excell'd those of all the neighbouring Countries. This Country abounds more in Gold than any yet discover'd. The immense Riches that have fill'd *Spain* since she has traded to the *Indies*, have been chiefly drawn out of the Mines of the Country of which I am now speaking.

The Governor of this new World invented various kinds of Torments to constrain the Inhabitants to give him all the Gold they had heap'd together. In one Progress which some of his Captains made by his Order to pillage and rob the People of their Riches, they put above forty thousand of 'em to the Sword; others they burnt, others they expos'd to be devour'd by Dogs; and the rest they destroy'd with divers other kinds of cruel Punishments.

The wretched Ignorance of those that have been sent to govern the *Indies*, has occasion'd a great many Mischiefs and Disorders, and hinder'd the Conversion of the *Indians*: for what they endeavour'd to perswade 'em by their Words, was contradicted by their Actions; and the Sentiments of their Minds were no ways conformable to the Pretensions of their Tongues. They commanded the *Indians* to embrace the Christian Religion upon pain of Death, they menac'd 'em with cruel Slavery, or the most exquisite Tortures, to force 'em to turn Christians, or to swear Allegiance to the King of *Spain*: As if the Son of God, who dy'd for the Redemption of Men, had ordain'd those whom he sent to preach the Gospel, and to declare the Kingdom of God, to constrain People that liv'd peaceably in their own Country, to make profession of his Doctrine, on pain of being plunder'd of their Goods, of being

separated from their Wives and Children, of losing their Liberty, and of being condemn'd to a cruel Death, without having ever been instructed in the Maxims and Principles of our Religion. And the poor Creatures must be oblig'd to render an exact Obedience to a King they had never seen or heard of, till they were inform'd of him by these Messengers of his that treated 'em so inhumanly.

This bloody and impious Governor, urg'd with the insatiable desire of heaping up Treasure, pillaged the *Indians* that dwelt both in the Villages and Cities with Impunity, while they little thought of securing themselves against his Robberies. He order'd his Souldiers to go privately to the places where they suspected any Gold was to be found, and to declare his Orders to the Inhabitants of this new World after the following manner. "*Caciques* and *Indians* of this Continent, we are come to declare to you that there is but one God, one Pope, and one King of *Spain*, who is Lord and Master of the Country you inhabit; we therefore require you to come immediately and take the Oath of Allegiance to him. After such kind of Preambles as these, they would choose the Night to fall suddenly upon these poor Wretches, when laid fast asleep, without having taken any measures to secure themselves from the Artifices of their Enemies, who would set fire to their Houses, which being thatch'd with Reeds and Straw, were burnt to Ashes in an instant. The Women and Children were devour'd by the Flames almost before they had time to consider where they were. They massacred such as made a shift to escape the Fire, or kept 'em for Slaves; they used Tortures to force 'em to tell where they had hid their Gold. They printed Marks on their Bodies with red hot Branding-irons; and after all these Cruelties, us'd their utmost diligence

gence to make a strict search for the Gold of these miserable People, of which they got vast Quantities together, besides Pearls and Diamonds, which the *Indians* gave 'em to avoid their Fury. All the *Spaniards* who had any Office or Place of Trust, committed the same Rapine; every one sent as many Souldiers as he could to make their Progresses, and ravage all the Country. The first Bishop that was sent into *America*, imitated the Conduct of these covetous Governors, and made use of his Servants to procure himself a share of the Spoil. The *Spaniards* in a little time carried away above three Millions out of this Kingdom; of which vast Sum the King of *Spain* had scarce 3000 Crowns for his share. Here were above 800000 People slaughter'd; and the succeeding Governors continued the like Massacres till they had destroy'd the rest of the *Natives*.

I must not pass over in silence one Action committed in this Country by the Governor, of whom I have been speaking. A *Cacique*, whether voluntarily or out of fear I know not, gave him the weight of 9000 Crowns in Gold: This great Sum not contenting the *Spaniards*, they tied this unhappy Prince to a Stake, and setting fire to his Feet, endeavour'd by this means to extort a greater quantity from him. This Torment being intolerable to him, he gave 'em the weight of 3000 Crowns of Gold more, which he had reserv'd; upon this they renew'd their Tortures, to get still more out of him: but whether he had no more to give 'em, or whether he was resolv'd they should exact no more of him, he expir'd amidst their Tortures. They put to death many of the most considerable Persons of this Kingdom after the same cruel manner.

A Company of *Spaniards* happening to light on a Body of *Indians* that had retreated into the Mountains,

tains, to avoid the Tyranny of their Persecutors, in a great rage fell upon the poor Wretches, and killing all the Men they could catch, carried away three or fourscore Women Prisoners. The *Indians* that escap'd being highly incens'd, came in Arms to attack the *Spaniards*, to try if they could oblige 'em to let go their Prey: These seeing the *Indians* draw near 'em, and being unwilling to surrender the Booty they had taken, stab'd the Women and Maids in the presence of their Husbands and Fathers, who were seiz'd with Horror and Despair at the sight of so lamentable a Tragedy; and smiting their Breasts, cry'd out, *O merciless Men! O cruel Spaniards! who can murder poor Women that never offended you without Pity!* And indeed they must be more savage and bloody than Beasts of Prey, who can be capable of such brutish Actions as these.

One of the greatest Lords of this Country, whose Name was *Paris*, had a House about ten or fifteen Leagues distance from *Panama*; he was very rich, having a great quantity of Gold in his possession. When the *Spaniards* came to his House, he receiv'd 'em with as much Kindness and Civility as if they had been his Relations. He frankly gave the Captain the value of 15000 Crowns: This Captain, and the *Spaniards* that accompanied him, concluded that this Indian must needs have immense Treasures, from the parcel of Gold he had given 'em; and since they had undertaken this Journey on purpose to rob him, to make the more sure of succeeding in their Design, they pretended they would be gone, and accordingly took their leave of him, but return'd in the middle of the Night, and rushing into the City unexpectedly, they set it on fire, and destroy'd abundance of the Citizens in the Flames, and carried away thence 50 or 60000 Crowns. A Person of the most considerable Quality of any in this

this City escap'd the fury of this Fire; and after a Respite of three or four days, having got as many Men together as he could, fell upon the *Spaniards* by surprize, kill'd about fifty of 'em, and retook all the Spoil of the City which they had burnt, and particularly the Value of 40000 Crowns, of which they had plunder'd him: the rest of the *Spaniards* made the best of their way and escap'd, but not without a great many Wounds. Soon after this they return'd with a greater Force to attack this *Cacique*, and destroy'd the greatest part of his Troops, making Slaves of the rest.

Of the Province of Nicaragua.

IN the Year 1522, the forementioned Governor undertook to subdue the Province of *Nicaragua*. The great Fertility of this Country, the Goodness of the Air, and the vast number of the Inhabitants cannot be sufficiently express'd. There were Cities in this Province four Leagues in length. The great quantities of excellent Fruits that grow there, drew together those great multitudes of People. These Cities being situate in vast Plains, the People had no Mountains near in which to hide themselves; besides, the Climat is so sweet, and the Country so agreeable, that the Inhabitants could not easily resolve to quit it, and consequently were the more expos'd to the Outrages and Persecutions of the *Spaniards*; yet they suffer'd all with as much patience as was possible, that they might not be oblig'd to change their Dwelling. And tho these People are naturally of a mild and peaceable Temper, the Governor, or rather the Tyrant, with the Ministers of his Cruelty, resolv'd to treat the *Indians* of this Pro-

vince after the same manner he had done those of other Kingdoms. Here he committed so many enormities, such Robberies and Massacres, that 'tis impossible for any Pen to relate 'em all. He sent 60 Troopers into this Province, which is bigger than the County of *Roussillon*, who massacred almost all the Inhabitants, without any regard to Age, Sex or Quality. If these poor Creatures fail'd to bring 'em a certain measure of Corn which they exacted of 'em, or did not send into their Service such a number of Slaves as they demanded, they kill'd 'em without Mercy. And this being a plain Country (as has been said) there was no place to shelter 'em from the Spanish Horse, who pursu'd 'em with the utmost Fury.

The General permitted these Villains to commit all the Insolencies and Robberies they pleas'd, and to take as great a number of Prisoners as they desir'd. These they sometimes loaded with Chains of sixty or eighty Pound weight; so that of 4000 Captives, scarce six were able to endure this Fatigue, the rest all dy'd by the way under the intolerable weight of their Fetters. That they might not have the trouble to open the Chains of such as dy'd with Hunger, Thirst, Weariness and Toil, they cut off their Heads. When the *Indians* saw the *Spaniards* prepare for these kind of Journeys, well knowing they were never likely to see their Friends and Countrymen any more, they, with many deep Sighs and Groans, and floods of Tears, utter'd their Complaints after this manner. *Time was* (say they) *when we have travell'd these Journeys to serve the Christians, and have been suffer'd after a certain space of time to return home to our Wives and Children, but now there is no hope of any such return; and this Separation must be for ever.*

One day a Fancy came into the Governors Head,
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this City escap'd the fury of this Fire; and after Respite of three or four days, having got as many Men together as he could, fell upon the *Spaniards* by surprize, kill'd about fifty of 'em, and retook all the Spoil of the City which they had burnt, and particularly the Value of 40000 Crowns, of which they had plunder'd him: the rest of the *Spaniard* made the best of their way and escap'd, but not without a great many Wounds. Soon after this they return'd with a greater Force to attack this *Cacique*, and destroy'd the greatest part of his Troops, making Slaves of the rest.

Of the Province of Nicaragua.

IN the Year 1522, the forementioned Governor undertook to subdue the Province of *Nicaragua*. The great Fertility of this Country, the Goodness of the Air, and the vast number of the Inhabitants cannot be sufficiently express'd. There were Cities in this Province four Leagues in length. The great quantities of excellent Fruits that grow there, drew together those great multitudes of People. These Cities being situate in vast Plains, the People had no Mountains near in which to hide themselves; besides, the Climat is so sweet, and the Country so agreeable, that the Inhabitants could not easily resolve to quit it, and consequently were the more expos'd to the Outrages and Persecutions of the *Spaniards*; yet they suffer'd all with as much patience as was possible, that they might not be oblig'd to change their Dwelling. And tho these People are naturally of a mild and peaceable Temper, the Governor, or rather the Tyrant, with the Ministers of his Cruelty, resolv'd to treat the *Indians* of this

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Province after the same manner he had done those of other Kingdoms. Here he committed so many Enormities, such Robberies and Massacres, that 'tis impossible for any Pen to relate 'em all. He sent 50 Troopers into this Province, which is bigger than the County of *Roussillon*, who massacred almost all the Inhabitants, without any regard to Age, Sex or Quality. If these poor Creatures fail'd to bring 'em a certain measure of Corn which they exacted of 'em, or did not send into their Service such a number of Slaves as they demanded, they kill'd 'em without Mercy. And this being a plain Country (as has been said) there was no place to shelter 'em from the Spanish Horse, who pursu'd 'em with the utmost Fury.

The General permitted these Villains to commit all the Infolencies and Robberies they pleas'd, and to take as great a number of Prisoners as they desir'd. These they sometimes loaded with Chains of sixty or eighty Pound weight; so that of 4000 Captives, scarce six were able to endure this Fatigue, the rest all dy'd by the way under the intolerable weight of their Fetters. That they might not have the trouble to open the Chains of such as dy'd with Hunger, Thirst, Weariness and Toil, they cut off their Heads. When the *Indians* saw the *Spaniards* prepare for these kind of Journeys, well knowing they were never likely to see their Friends and Countrymen any more, they, with many deep Sighs and Groans, and floods of Tears, utter'd their Complaints after this manner. *Time was* (say they) *when we have travell'd these Journeys to serve the Christians, and have been suffer'd after a certain space of time to return home to our Wives and Children, but now there is no hope of any such return; and this Separation must be for ever.*

One day a Fancy came into the Governors Head,
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to make a new distribution of the *Indians*; he took 'em away from those for whom he had no kindness, and gave a greater number to those he respected. This chopping and changing of Slaves occasion'd a great scarcity for one Year, there being but a very small Crop on the ground. The *Spaniards* endeavour'd to supply this defect by taking from the *Indians* all the Corn and other Provisions which they had laid up in store for the Subsistence of their Families. This Disorder produc'd a Famin among 'em, which destroy'd above thirty thousand People. There was one Woman so intolerably press'd with Hunger, that she kill'd her Child to appease her Appetite.

All the Cities and Fields round 'em are like pleasant Gardens, which the *Spaniards* cultivated according to the share each one had assign'd him by Lot: and to save their own Revenues, they fed up on the Stores that belong'd to the *Indians*, and liv'd at their Charge, devouring in a few days what these poor People had been a long time getting together with a great deal of Care and Toil. There was no *Spaniard* but had an Estate of his own, and kept abundance of *Indians* in his House to manure his Land, and to do other Domestick Business: and none of these were exempted from Slavery, their Nobles, their Women and Children were made to work day and night for the advantage of the *Spaniards*, who exacted Tasks of 'em quite beyond their Strength, and miserably wore 'em out with excess of Labour and Hardship. They drove 'em out of their Houses, and took possession of 'em; they seiz'd their Goods and Lands, and instantly consum'd their Provisions, thus reducing 'em to extreme necessity. Many of 'em dy'd under the heavy Burdens they oblig'd 'em to carry on their Shoulders as far as the Port, which was above 30 Leagues; for hither they made 'em bring

Planks

Planks and pieces of Timber for the building of Vessels. They forc'd 'em to go and seek for Honey and Wax in the Mountains, where they were devour'd by Tygers: Women big with Child were not exempted from these hard Services, and often perish'd together with their Fruit, under the pressure of this rigorous Slavery.

That which contributed yet farther to unpeople this Province, was the liberty the *Spaniards* took to exact of the *Caciques*, and richest *Indians*, a great number of Slaves. This kind of Tribute was authoriz'd by the Governor, and levied with a great deal of Severity; for he threaten'd to burn 'em alive if they fail'd to send him a Recruit of fifty Slaves every three Months, or as often as he should give order: tho the *Indians* have no great number of Slaves ordinarily, and 'tis much if a *Cacique* has three or four among his other Domesticks. If a Father had two Children, the *Spaniards* would take away one of them, or two if he had three: The Parents must submit, with how great Reluctancy soever; but their Children were not ravish'd from 'em without abundance of Tears and dolorous Complaints; for they have a very tender Affection to their Offspring, and breed 'em up with abundance of Care. This kind of Tribute being often extorted, all this Kingdom was in a few years depopulated. There arriv'd five or six Ships here every year, which were laden with Slaves, whom they transported into *Peru* and *Panama*, and there sold 'em, where they died in a little time; for it has been confirm'd by many Experiments, that those *Indians* that are transported from their Native Country into other Climates, seldom live long: And that which contributed to kill 'em the sooner, was the neglect of supplying 'em with sufficient Sustenance, and the excessive Labour with which they were over-charg'd.

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In the space of a few Years there were above 500000 Slaves drawn out of this Province, tho they were all born free: and during the War that was made against 'em, there dy'd about fifty or sixty thousand besides these: the rest were condemn'd to cruel Slavery, in which a considerable number dy'd every day. There are about four or five thousand People still to be found in this Province; but it was once one of the best peopled Countries in all *America*: And in a little time in all appearance the rest will be destroy'd by the ill Treatment they continually suffer.

Of New Spain.

NEW Spain was discover'd in the year 1517, and the year following the *Spaniards* began to ravage it, and to massacre the Inhabitants, tho they pretend to go out of *Europe* to people this Country. Their Violences and Oppressions arriv'd to such a height, that they had no regard either to God or the King, but forgot both that they were Men and Christians. Since they came into this Country, there has been nothing but Rapine and Spoil, Massacres, and burning of Cities, nothing but Tyranny and Violence; so that they have in a short time depopulated and ruined vast Kingdoms from one end to t'other. The remembrance of the Villanies and Cruelties committed there, has cast such a Terror into the minds of the Natives, that they can't think of a *Spaniard* without trembling. They have not yet left off tormenting 'em; on the contrary they rather grow worse and worse, and their Persecutions augment every year. The *Spaniards* since they first enter'd into *New Spain* have destroy'd

450000

450000 by violent Deaths in and about *Mexico*. This Country contains four or five Kingdoms, that come not short of the Kingdom of *Spain* for Extent, Fertility, and Plenty of all things: Here were Cities to be seen more populous than *Toledo*, *Seville*, *Valladolid*, *Saragossa*, or *Barcelona*; for tho all these Cities are well stor'd with Inhabitants, those of the new World are yet more populous. The Country of which I am now treating is above 1800 Leagues in compass. Here the *Spaniards* have kill'd above four Millions of People by Fire and Sword, and other violent Deaths, both Men, Women and Children, within the space of 480 Leagues. They call the Countries they have got by their unjust and cruel Wars, their Conquests, into which they enter'd with the bloody design of exterminating the Inhabitants, and behav'd themselves worse than *Turks*, or the greatest Enemies of the Christian Name would have done. I don't now reckon in the number of those they have kill'd, such as have perish'd in Slavery, or dy'd under the Hardships of their Tyrannical Oppressions. No Tongue is capable of describing to the life all the horrid Villanies perpetrated by these bloody-minded Men. They seem to be the declar'd Enemies of Mankind, and act as if they were destin'd to destroy the whole Human Race: And how accurately soever one endeavours to relate the Cruelties and Ravages of the *Spaniards*, the thousandth part of it cannot be utter'd.

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A more particular Account of New Spain.

IN the flourishing and famous City of *Cholula*, which contain'd more than thirty thousand Families, the principal Inhabitants, together with the Priests, led by him whom they look'd upon as their High-priest, came with abundance of Solemnity and Pomp to meet the *Spaniards*; and that they might receive 'em with the greater Honour and Respect, they had order'd matters so amongst themselves, that those of the highest quality in the City should conduct the *Spaniards* to their Houses, and give 'em the best Entertainment they could. Notwithstanding this, the *Spaniards* resolv'd upon the spot to make a horrible slaughter of 'em, thereby to render themselves the more formidable, and to spread Terror through all the Country. And this method they us'd to observe in every Country through which they pass'd, *viz.* to make a great Massacre at their first Arrival, that the People, who are as meek as Sheep, might not look upon 'em without dread. They deputed some to go and treat with the chief Men of the City, and places adjacent, to engage 'em to come and meet 'em, that they might confer together. These were no sooner come to 'em, but they put 'em in Chains, while the Inhabitants of the City knew nothing of this Treachery. They demanded 6000 *Indians* of 'em to carry their Baggage, their Utensils and Provisions: When they were come, they shut 'em up in divers Yards, and 'twas a miserable Spectacle to see the poor Wretches prepare to carry the Burdens they were to lay upon 'em. They were almost stark naked, and stoop'd down prostrating themselves upon the Ground, submitting

mitting like Sheep to the Blows and Wounds these Tyrants gave 'em. When they were all thus pound'd in several Courts or Yards, part of the *Spaniards* arm'd with Lances and Pikes fill'd up the Avenues to hinder the *Indians* from escaping, while the rest put 'em to the Sword; so that none of these escap'd. Two or three days after they found some of them among the Carcasses all cover'd with Wounds and Blood, that had been left for dead; these cry'd for Mercy, and beg'd they might be suffer'd to live; but these bloody Men were not at all soften'd by their Groans and Tears, and the submissive manner in which they ask'd their Lives, but cut 'em in pieces upon the spot with a kind of nameless Cruelty. Above a hundred of the principal *Indians* of this place were put in Irons, and kept alive as yet: But the Commander of the *Spaniards* order'd Stakes to be fix'd in the Ground, and these unhappy People to be fasten'd to 'em and burnt. The King of the Country happen'd to make his Escape, and retir'd into a Temple with thirty or forty attending him, hoping to find Sanctuary there: Here he defended himself for a whole day. But the *Spaniards*, who never gave Quarter to any one whom they found in Arms, set fire to the Temple, and burnt all that were in it. They cry'd out of the midst of the Flames: *O vile and cruel Men! what hurt have we done you, that you should kill us after this manner? Be gone, be gone to Mexico, where our King Montecuma will punish you according to your deserts.* 'Tis said the Spanish Commander was at play during this Tragedy; and that when the Flames had quite consum'd these poor *Indians*, in a Transport of barbarous Joy, shall I say? or Fury, he utter'd these words: *Nero, says he, beholding from Mount Tarpeius the Flames that laid Rome in Ashes, heard the Cries of his Citizens without any Emotion of Compassion.*

The *Spaniards* made another great Massacre in the City of *Tepeaca*, which is a yet finer and larger City than the former, and comprehends in it a greater number of Houses. Here they kill'd a multitude of the Inhabitants with their Lances and Swords. They afterwards went to *Mexico*, where King *Montecuma* accompanied with his Nobles, and those of the most distinguished Rank in his Court, entertain'd the *Spaniards* with all sorts of Divertisements, to testify how mightily they were pleas'd with their Arrival. The King's Brother came to meet 'em with a splendid Retinue; he made 'em noble Presents in Gold and Silver, and gave 'em rich Stuffs painted with divers Colours: the King himself receiv'd 'em at the entrance of the City with all his Court, being carried upon a Golden Frame, or Chair of State, and conducted 'em to the Palace that was provided for 'em. But the same day they seiz'd this unfortunate Prince, who thought of nothing less, and posted fourscore Souldiers to guard him, having loaded him with a heavy Chain. This Action put all the *Indians* in a Consternation and Fear. But to augment their Terror, they contriv'd to signalize their Cruelty by some memorable Action. All the Nobility of the City was engag'd in representing Plays and Shows, and in dancing round the place where their King was imprison'd, to allay the Troubles of his Mind during his Captivity; in these Plays they expos'd to view all their Riches and Magnificence. These were the Demonstrations of their Joy, and of the desire they had to please the *Spaniards*. The Nobles and Princes of the Blood, according to their several degrees, were employ'd in these Plays and Dances (as I have said) round about their Prince's Prison; so that there were about the Palace two thousand young Men that were the very flower of the whole Kingdom, and the Pride and

Glory

Glory of the Court of King *Montecuma*: While they were thus engag'd, the Commander of the *Spaniards* with one of his Troops came to fall upon 'em. He had sent the rest of his Souldiers into the other quarters of the City, where the People were using the like Divertisements, ordering 'em to seem to join in with these Indian Sports, as if they were mightily pleas'd with 'em, but withal giving 'em a word to put these Dancers at a certain time to the Sword. Accordingly they fell upon 'em, pronouncing the word *St. James*, which was the Signal for massacring these poor naked *Indians*, that were in no condition to defend themselves from Souldiers arm'd with Swords and Lances: with these they made large Wounds in the tender Bodies of the young Noblemen of *Mexico*, who were all massacred, and not so much as one of 'em escap'd. The *Indians* in the other parts of the City were seiz'd with so much Horror and Trouble, that they knew not where to seek for shelter to secure themselves from the fury of these Cut-throats, whom they loaded with a thousand Curses. Since this time they don't forget to celebrate the memory of this barbarous Action with their Sighs and Tears, and have put this day in the Rank of their most unfortunate ones, since in it they lost in a moment the most illustrious Nobility of the whole Kingdom.

The *Indians* who had suffer'd the Imprisonment of their King with so much patience, hearing of the Massacre of so many young Noblemen, could not but express their Detestation of this so bloody and wicked a Fact, and took up Arms to revenge themselves: and tho *Montecuma* had forbidden 'em to offer the *Spaniards* any Violence, they attack'd 'em vigorously, and kill'd divers of 'em, and the rest were constrained to retreat. The *Spaniards* put a Dagger to their Prince's Breast, and shew'd him in this

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posture

posture to his Subjects through a Window, hoping the sight of it would oblige 'em to lay down their Arms, which the Prince himself likewise commanded them to do; but they were too much provok'd now to obey even his Orders. They chose one to head 'em, and having put all their Troops under his Command, attack'd the *Spaniards* so furiously, and fought with so much obstinacy, that these concluding they were not able to withstand 'em, left the City, and retreated in the middle of the night; which the *Indians* perceiving, pursu'd 'em, and kill'd a great number of 'em as they pass'd the Rivers. However the *Spaniards* return'd soon after with a greater Strength, and assaulted and took the City, in which they made a horrible slaughter, and burnt those *Indians* that were of greatest Note.

After they had committed all this Cruelty and Spoil in the City of *Mexico*, they carried Desolation with them into the Province of *Panuco*, which is not above twenty Leagues distant from it, and here exercised their ordinary Barbarity. This Province was mightily stock'd with People: but since the arrival of the *Spaniards*, the greatest part of 'em has been cut off. The Province of *Tute-peca*, and that of *Colima* underwent the same Fate; each of which Provinces is as big as the Kingdoms of *Leon* and *Castile*.

'Tis to be observ'd that the *Spaniards* invaded these Provinces only to plunder and inflave the Inhabitants. One of the first things they did was to oblige 'em to take the Oath of Allegiance to the King of *Spain*; which if they refus'd to do, they were presently massacred, or made Slaves. They declar'd those of 'em Rebels who came not to meet the *Spaniards*, and to submit to their unjust and cruel Orders. Those of the highest rank among the *Indians* were accus'd of this Crime, and this was improv'd

prov'd against 'em to the King of *Spain*, without considering that 'tis a plain Rule in Law, that none can be term'd Rebels but Subjects that are revolted from their Prince.

There's no good Christian will make any difficulty to conclude, that such Missionaries as the *Spaniards* have not the Qualifications necessary to insinuate the Maxims of our Religion into these People, who are naturally free, and know not how to bear the Haughtiness and Insolence with which they have been treated: for they are peremptorily told, you must without any more ado submit to the Obedience of a Foreign Prince, whom you never saw nor heard of; and if you refuse so to do, we'll cut you in pieces; and this no sooner said but done. But that which is more unaccountable is, that those who yield a blind Obedience to all they command 'em, are no better treated than the others; for they are made miserable Slaves, they exact intolerable Tasks of 'em, and condemn 'em to all sorts of Torments: So that whole Provinces, both Men, Women and Children, are destroy'd in a short time: Nay, those whom they kill outright are the happier sort, as having an end put to their Miseries in a moment. But when they are forc'd by Menaces to promise Fidelity and Obedience to a Foreign Prince, can it be pretended they are oblig'd to it in Conscience, when this suppos'd Duty is neither founded on the Laws of God, nor those of Nations? Besides, the Threatnings that are made 'em are capable of terrifying Men of the greatest Courage and Resolution; wherefore all the Promises obtain'd by such menaces have no value nor obliging force. I pass over in silence the Affronts, the Insults and Injuries that were offer'd the King of *Mexico*. In a word, they have violated all the Laws of Nations, and infinitely wrong'd and abus'd the poor *Indians*. This

is all the Service the *Spaniards* have done these People.

The Governor of this new World, supported by his imaginary Titles, sent two Captains, scarce inferior to himself in Impiety and Cruelty, into the Kingdoms of *Guatimala*, which are situate towards the South: they pierc'd as far as the Kingdoms of *Naco* and *Gaymura*, which extend Northward for the space of about 300 Leagues; these Kingdoms border upon that of *Mexico*. These Captains travell'd both by Sea and Land, accompanied with a good party of Horfe, and a considerable number of Foot.

The Captain whose Lot it was to travel into *Guatimala*, did a world of mischief there (the other soon dying) he carried Desolation with him every where, and fill'd this Kingdom with Blood and Ruin, to render the *Spaniards* formidable even to future Generations. I am of opinion, that the mischief this Captain did here surpass'd whatever the *Europeans* had done before in the new World. He went by Sea, and carried Sword and Fire throughout all the Coasts. Some of the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Yucatan*, which is in the way to the Kingdoms of *Naco* and *Gaymura*, made him magnificent Presents: yet as soon as he had enter'd their Country, he sent his Souldiers into every part of it, who committed horrible Spoil, and massacred an infinite number of these poor People. A furious *Spaniard* at the head of 300 Men, enter'd the Country adjoining to *Guatimala*, set fire to all their Cities, and cut the throats of all the Inhabitants, without giving any quarter: he carried away what Booty he could, and continued to pillage the Country for the space of sixscore Leagues. This Captain had rebell'd, and revolted against his General; and his design in ruining the Country after this manner was to put the *Spaniards*

out

out of a condition to pursue him, by preventing their finding Subsistence in a Country thus ruin'd, and by exposing 'em to the fury of the *Indians*, who would omit nothing to revenge upon 'em the Injuries and Mischiefs they had receiv'd from their Companions, which fell out accordingly: For the Spanish General attempting to pursue this Rebel, was kill'd by the *Indians*. Those that succeeded him exercised all manner of Cruelties on 'em, and reduc'd almost all of 'em to Slavery, after they had spoil'd 'em of all their Goods, Provisions, Clothes, Corn, Wine and other necessaries of Life. The Provinces of *Naco* and *Hendure*, which were like Gardens of Pleasure, were turn'd into melancholy Deserts, altho this Country was very full of People. 'Tis impossible to reflect on these things without being sensibly touch'd and soften'd into Compassion, tho one were naturally of an obdurate and fowr Temper. They kill'd two Millions of People in this Country in less than ten years; so that there are scarce two thousand left in all the vast Extent of it; and these are groaning under a heavy yoke of Bondage. When they propos'd to 'em to take the Oath of Allegiance to the King of *Spain*, they would give 'em no time to deliberate; they must immediately obey, or else die by Fire or Sword.

Of the Kingdom of Guatimala.

THE *Spaniards* signaliz'd their entrance into this Kingdom by divers Massacres, tho the King came to meet 'em in his Chair of State supported by his Slaves, follow'd by a great number of his Lords, and with Trumpets and Drums before him, to give the greater Testimony of Joy; he shew'd 'em all the

the Courtesy and Civility in the world, manifested a great deal of Kindness in readily supplying 'em with plenty of Provisions, and gave 'em whatever they could reasonably desire. The *Spaniards* lodg'd without the City the first night, thinking they should not be secure enough in a place so well fortified. The next day they engag'd the Prince of the place to come out to 'em with the greatest part of the Persons of Quality, obliging to bring with them a certain quantity of Gold. The *Indians* made answer that 'twas impossible for them to do what was requir'd, because their Country did not yield this Metal. However this refusal so mov'd the Indignation of the *Spaniards*, that for no other Offence, without any formal Process, they cast 'em all alive into a great Fire. The most considerable Inhabitants of these Provinces, seeing their Masters so cruelly treated, only because they gave not the *Spaniards* all the Gold they demanded, retir'd with all speed into the Mountains, ordering the common People to submit to the *Spaniards* as their Masters, and giving 'em a strict charge by no means to give the least notice of the places where they were gone to hide themselves. Abundance of these poor People came accordingly to the *Spaniards*, begging of 'em to receive them into the number of their Servants, and promising to serve 'em faithfully as far as they were capable. The Spanish Commander roughly answer'd 'em, that he would not so receive 'em, but cut 'em to pieces without Mercy, unless they would discover the places whither their Masters were retreated; the *Indians* replied, they did not know: however they readily offer'd themselves, their Wives and Children to their Service; and said, they would continue in their Houses expecting their Orders; they further told 'em, they might treat 'em as they pleas'd, 'twas in their power either to kill 'em,

'em, or to save 'em alive to employ 'em in their Service. The *Spaniards* upon this went into their Villages and Towns, and found these poor *Indians* with their Wives and Children busy at their Work, and in great security, believing they had no need to fear the *Spaniards* would attack 'em; yet these blood-thirsty Men massacred 'em without pity. After this they went to another great Town, the Inhabitants of which confiding in their Innocence, thought themselves in no great danger; but this whole Town was destroy'd in less than two hours, and the Massacre was so general, that no Age, nor Sex, nor Quality met with Pity, but all were put to the Sword, unless such as fled before the arrival of the *Spaniards*.

The *Indians* at length finding it impossible either by their Patience, their Submissions, or their Presents to soften the cruel and savage Temper of the *Spaniards*, who cut their Throats without any reason, or any sentiment of Pity, resolv'd to get together in a body, and take Arms to defend themselves: for seeing Death was inevitable to 'em, and become a necessary Evil, they chose rather to die with Weapons in their hands, thereby to sell their Lives at as dear a rate as they could, and to revenge themselves as much as possible on their Persecutors, than to suffer their Throats to be cut like Sheep without making any resistance. They wanted effectual Arms, they were quite naked, and knew their Strength was much inferior to that of their Enemies; they had no Horses, nor did they understand the use of 'em in Battel: they had to do with a furious and warlike Enemy that gave 'em no quarter, and design'd nothing but their Extirpation. They therefore thought it necessary to use Stratagems: it came into their heads to make Pits up and down the ways by which the *Spaniards* were to pass, and to cover 'em with
Straw

Straw and Leaves that they might not be perceiv'd, that so their Horses might fall in 'em, and break their Necks or Legs. Some of the *Spaniards* were two or three times taken in these Traps, but afterwards took care to avoid 'em, and resolv'd to cast all the *Indians* they could take into these Pits, whether Men, Women or Children, of what Age or Condition soever; they threw in Women big with Child, and old Men as well as others, till they had quite fill'd 'em. It was a most lamentable sight to see some Women empaled together with their Children, and so expos'd to the fury of greedy Dogs, and others run through with Lances and Halberts. They burnt one of the greatest Lords of the Country with a gentle Fire, and insultingly told him 'twas to do him the more honour, that they put him to death after this manner. These Butcheries and Cruelties were committed for seven years together. The Reader may conjecture what multitudes of poor *Indians* were slaughter'd during so tedious and bloody a Persecution.

'Tis fit to be remark'd, that the *Spaniards* were receiv'd with great Acclamations, and with all the demonstrations of a sincere Joy in the Province of *Cuzcatan*, which is situate on the Sea-side, and extends forty or fifty Leagues in length. In this Province is the famous City of *St. Saviour*; *Cuzcatan* is the Metropolis of the Province. These People sent 30000 *Indians* to the *Spaniards* laden with Indian Poultry, and all other Provisions the Country would afford in great abundance. After they had receiv'd these Presents, the Spanish General order'd his Men to choose as many *Indians* as each of 'em desir'd for their Service, while they remain'd in that Province: Accordingly one took a hundred, another fifty, as they had occasion to carry their Baggage. These poor Wretches serv'd them with all the care and diligence

diligence they could, and were even ready to worship 'em. At length the General demanded of 'em a great quantity of Gold, that being the main business for which he came: they with a great deal of Humility and Submission, told him they would readily give him all they had, and presently got together all the Lances they had, which were made of Copper gilt, and which they took for pure Gold by the looks of it. The General soon made trial of it, and finding what it was, address'd himself to the *Spaniards* in these terms: *We must carry Destruction with us* (says he) *through all this Country, seeing here's no Gold to be found: Every one of you may keep the Indians you have chosen for your perpetual Slaves: You may load 'em with Chains, and brand 'em with the marks of their Slavery: Which was immediately done: For they printed the King's Arms with a hot Iron upon all they could take. Those of 'em that escap'd, provok'd with the ill Treatment which they every where met, assembled all the Indians they could to make an Effort to deliver themselves from the Persecutions of their Enemies by force of Arms; but their Enterprize was not successful, so that an incredible number of 'em was kill'd.*

After this Expedition the *Spaniards* return'd to *Guatimala*, where they built a City; but God was pleas'd by his just Judgment utterly to overthrow and destroy it. They kill'd all without Mercy whom they suppos'd to be in a condition to incommode 'em by their Arms, and the rest were condemn'd to Slavery. They extorted from 'em a Tribute of Boys and Girls, and sent 'em into *Peru* to be sold. The other Inhabitants of this Kingdom, which is 100 Leagues in length, were likewise destroy'd. Thus one of the most pleasant and fruitful Countries in the World was reduc'd to a melancholy Desert. The Governor himself has freely confess'd, that this

was the most populous Country in the *West-Indies*, not excepting *Mexico* it self, which is certainly true. In this noble Country the *Spaniards* have destroy'd no less than four or five Millions of Men in fifteen or sixteen years, and continue every day to treat those that remain after the same manner.

These inhuman Creatures were wont when they declar'd War against any City or Province, to bring with 'em, as many of the conquer'd *Indians* as they could, to make 'em fight against their Country-men; sometimes they had fifteen or twenty thousand of these new Subjects among 'em. But because they were not able to furnish 'em with all necessary Provisions, they allow'd 'em to eat those other *Indians* whom they took in War, so that in their Camp they had Shambles stor'd with human Flesh. Infants were kill'd in their sight, and then broil'd and eaten; Men were slaughter'd like Beasts, and their Legs and Arms dress'd for food; for the *Indians* like the taste of those Parts better than others. The News of these horrible Practices soon alarm'd the neighbouring Countries, and fill'd 'em with Terror and Consternation.

Many of the *Indians* were worn out with carrying the Tackle of the Spanish Ships, which they would needs have brought from the North to the South Sea, which are 130 Leagues distant: They made 'em carry Anchors of a great weight all this long way; they laid great Guns upon the naked Backs of these poor Creatures, under the weight of which they were not able to stand; so that the greatest part of 'em dy'd by the way, not being able to endure these Fatigues. To increase their Misery, they divided their Families, taking Husbands from their Wives, and Wives from their Husbands; their Daughters were taken from 'em, and given to the Seamen and Souldiers to satisfy their Lust, and to appease

appease their murmuring. They fill'd the Ships with *Indians*, and suffer'd 'em to perish with Hunger and Thirst, because they would take no care to furnish 'em with Necessaries. But to give a particular account of all their Cruelties would require large Volumes, the view of which would astonish all that should have the curiosity to look into 'em.

The *Spaniards* had two powerful Fleets destin'd to the same purpose of destroying the poor *Indians*. How many Parents have they bereav'd of their Children! How many Children of their Parents! of how many Adulteries and other infamous Practices have they been the Causes, the Actors, and Accomplices! How many People have they enslav'd! What Miseries and Calamities have they not brought upon this new World! What Fountains of Tears have they open'd! What Rivers of Blood have they pour'd out! How many Lives have they taken away after such a manner as might render 'em yet more miserable in the other World! which is a melancholy Reflection both in regard of the *Indians* who have suffer'd so many Cruelties, and of the *Spaniards* who have been the Authors of so much Mischief and Villany.

Of New Spain, of Panuco and Xalisco.

AFTER the *Spaniards* had committed all the fore-mention'd Cruelties and Massacres in *New Spain*, there came to *Panuco* another Tyrant as barbarous and unmerciful as the former. He loaded his Ships with multitudes of the Natives, and carried 'em to *Cuba* and *Hispaniola*, where they were sold for Slaves: so that in a little time he render'd the whole Country destitute of People. Fourscore of these

these *Indians* (tho they have reasonable Souls as well as other Men) were exchange'd for one Horse. When the President of the City of *Mexico* was made Governor of all *New Spain*, there were also a great many Assessors and Auditors made, who all rul'd like so many petty Tyrants, and committed unparallel'd Cruelties and Outrages in the exercise of their Offices. They acted such abominable things, and made the Country so desolate in a very little time, that if the Franciscan Monks had not oppos'd their Disorders with a great deal of Courage and Resolution, and had not the Royal Council by their Messages given Orders for the preservation of this Province, all *New Spain* had been ruin'd in less than two years, and been made as desolate as *Hispaniola*. One of the President's Companions employ'd eight thousand *Indians* to make a Wall round his Garden, but he gave 'em neither Wages nor Victuals; so that they almost all dy'd before the Work was finish'd: neither the hard Labour they endur'd, nor their Death could make this merciless Man relent.

After the former General, of whom we have spoken above, had made an end of destroying and wasting the Province of *Panuco*, and was inform'd that the Royal Council would arrive in a little time, he advanc'd farther into the Country, hoping to find some new Province on which to exercise his wonted Rapine. He forc'd fifteen or twenty thousand *Indians* to attend him, to carry the *Spaniards* Baggage and Provisions, which they did till they all died in the way except two hundred. He came at length into the Province of *Mechuaca*, about forty Leagues from *Mexico*. The King of this Province very civilly came out to meet him, and was as officious to serve him as could be desir'd; but for his reward was loaded with Irons, because suppos'd to have a great Treasure by him; and the better to

extort

extort great Sums from him, he was made to suffer a great many Torments. His Hands being tied to a Stake, and his Legs stretch'd out, they drop'd burning Pitch on 'em, and basted his Body with boiling Oil from time to time, that his Skin might be gradually roasted. Over against him stood a furious Souldier with a Bow shooting Arrows into his Breast: Another let loose hungry Dogs to bite and tear him in every part; all these Tortures were to make him confess where he had hid his Gold: And these Cruelties would have been continued longer if a Franciscan Frier had not happen'd to come and rescue him out of their hands; however he could not save his Life, for he expir'd soon after. Many *Caciques* and great Men of this Province were put to death after this manner, to make 'em confess where they had hid their Gold and Silver.

About this time there arriv'd another Person in this Country, who was more greedy of Money, than solicitous about the Salvation of the poor *Indians*. He happen'd to find some of their Idols which they had hid, (for the *Spaniards* would very seldom give themselves the trouble to inform these Idolaters of the True God) Upon this he imprison'd the most considerable Persons in the Nation, till they should discover to him where they had put their Idols, because he suppos'd theirs were made either of Gold or Silver; but he fail'd in his Expectation: however to mend the matter, he impos'd great Sums on the *Indians*, which they were to pay for the redemption of their Idols, that they might worship 'em after their wonted manner. These are the Improvements the *Spaniards* have been making in the *West-Indies*, and this is their Zeal for the Glory of God and Religion.

After this Tyrant had run through the whole Province of *Mechuaca*, and pillaged it, he came to

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Xalisco,

Xalisquo, a Country very populous and fruitful, and the most famous in all *America*; there are Towns in it of seven Leagues in length. These *Indians*, as the others had done before, came out to meet him with great expressions of Joy; but he soon left upon 'em the marks of his Cruelty, which he had cultivated by long Experience. The noble Presents made this *Tiger* could not mollify him. His design was to heap together a great quantity of Gold, this was the only Idol he ador'd; and all means were indifferent to him, so he could but attain his end. He set fire to all the Cities through which he pass'd, and destroy'd 'em to the very Foundation. He kept those of the highest Dignity prisoners, after he had inflicted divers kinds of Torments on 'em. The *Spaniards* loaded all the *Indians* they could take here with Chains; which was a great number. The Souldiers made Women big with Child carry their Baggage, till they fainted and sunk under their Burdens with hunger and weariness. Others not able to carry both the heavy Burdens they gave 'em, and their Children too, were forc'd to leave these by the way, by which means a prodigious number of Children perish'd.

A *Spaniard* attempting to ravish a Virgin in the presence of her Mother, the Mother did what she could to hinder him; upon which, to prevent her from farther opposing his brutish design, he drew his Sword and cut off her Arms, and afterwards kill'd her Daughter because she would by no means consent to his filthy Desires, but resisted him with a virtuous Indignation and Courage to her last breath.

Four thousand and five hundred of these poor *Indians* were branded with a hot Iron by the *Spaniards*, who mark'd 'em thus for Slaves, tho they were born free and independent. The very Children,

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as well as those that were grown to maturity, suffer'd this Punishment and Infamy: They pretended they had right to make a great number of 'em Slaves, to defray the Charge of their long Travels; and that they might lawfully make these poor Creatures endure all sorts of Torments, to force 'em to declare where they had hid their Gold: Some of 'em they burnt, others were torn in pieces by hungry Dogs; they cut off the Feet, Hands, Arms, Tongues, and sometimes the Heads of others, to terrify the rest by these sad Spectacles, that they might oblige 'em the more easily to submit to Slavery, or to shew 'em the places where they had secur'd their Treasure. And all these things were acted with the knowledg and consent of the Governor, who would sometimes order more Blows to be given 'em, when they were beat or whip'd, to compleat their misery.

Fourscore Towns and Villages at least were burnt in the Kingdom of *Xalisco*: Which tragical sight, together with all the various Cruelties they suffer'd every day, so provok'd the *Indians*, that they arm'd themselves and fell upon the *Spaniards*, and kill'd some of 'em: after which Expedition they fled up into the Mountains, but at length were massacred in this place of Refuge by other *Spaniards* who made Excursions through these Provinces to lay 'em waste. They put all of 'em to the Sword who made any offer to defend themselves, so that this place became a horrible scene of Blood: And there is scarce any Remnant of this once numerous People left. The *Spaniards* were certainly blinded, harden'd and abandon'd by the Almighty, that they made no Reflection on the Laws of God or Men, which all forbid the exercise of such Violence as they have been guilty of in *America*. They had no just occasion given 'em to drive the Inhabitants of those Provinces from their

their Native Country by force of Arms, and to massacre 'em so barbarously: they did not consider how unjust and criminal these Outrages were, and how contrary it was to all the Laws of Nations, for them to treat those who had never injur'd 'em with so much Cruelty. They pretend the Wars they have made against these People are just and lawful; that God hath left 'em to their Mercy, and that they have right to make such Conquests as these, and to destroy all these Nations: So that it seems they would fain make God himself Partner with 'em in their Tyranny and Wickedness; and one may well apply the words of the Prophet *Zechariah* to 'em: *Feed the flock of the slaughter; whose Possessors slay them, and hold themselves not guilty: and they that sell them say, Blessed be the Lord, for I am rich; and their own Shepherds pity them not.* Chap. 11. 4, 5.

Of the Kingdom of Yucatan.

A Very profligate Person who had neither Honour nor Conscience, was made Governor of the Kingdom of *Yucatan* in the year 1526; which Dignity he procur'd by his Lies and Artifices, and the false accounts of Matters which he sent to the King of *Spain*. A method which other Tyrants have hitherto likewise follow'd to obtain places of Trust: For under the umbrage of the Title of Governor, which seems to give some Dignity and Authority to all they do, they take the liberty to exercise their Robberies and Violences with Impunity. The Kingdom of *Yucatan* contain'd a prodigious number of People; the Air of this Country is very temperate and pleasant: it has great plenty of Fruits, and all the Necessaries of Life; it exceeds

Mexico

Mexico it self in Fertility: There is more Wax and Honey found in this than in any other part of *America* that has been yet discover'd. This Kingdom is 300 Leagues in compass. The Inhabitants of it are more polite, more civiliz'd, and better disciplin'd in Morals, and in what belongs to the good order of Societies, than the rest of the *Indians*. There is a remarkable Prudence and Justness of Mind in them, which is not to be found in others. These natural Endowments without doubt ought to have encouraged Christians to take the pains to instruct 'em in the knowledge of the true God; and they seem'd to have no small disposition to receive the Maxims of the Catholick Religion. The *Spaniards* might have built great and flourishing Cities in so pleasant and commodious a Country, where they might have liv'd in the midst of Pleasure and Plenty, as it were in another Earthly Paradise: but their Stupidity, their Avarice, and the enormous Crimes they have committed in *America* have render'd 'em unworthy of these Advantages. They attack'd these poor *Indians*, who liv'd in profound Peace and Security, with the utmost Violence of a cruel War, and massacred a prodigious number of 'em, tho the number of the *Spaniards* was but three hundred. This Country produces no Gold; if the *Spaniards* could have found any Mines there, they would have condemn'd the *Indians* to 'em, who must have perish'd with Hunger and Hardship. These covetous Wretches esteem'd Gold more than Souls, which were purchas'd by the Blood of Jesus Christ; they made Slaves of those whom they sav'd alive, and fill'd the Ships they had brought to the Coasts of this Kingdom with 'em, and so exchange'd 'em for Wine, Oil, Vinegar, salt Pork, Horses, and all other Necessaries. They would give fifty or a hundred of the handsomest young Girls for a measure of Wine, Oil or Vinegar, and would

fell a hundred or two of luffy well-made young Men at the same rate. They swop'd a Prince's Son for a Cheefe, and a hundred Persons of Eminency for a Horse. They continued in this Country till they heard of the Riches of *Peru*, the News of which made 'em leave it immediately, and thus their Persecutions ended in the Kingdom of *Yucatan*. However, before they went they committed all the Excesses and Disorders that can be imagin'd against both God and Men: so that those three hundred Leagues of one of the finest Countries in the World, that was very rich and full of People before their arrival, were in a little time reduc'd to a vast Desert.

'Tis not easy to believe the Account of all the villanous Actions they committed in this Kingdom: I'll recite but two or three particular Facts. They had prepar'd fierce Dogs which they kept hungry to go a hunting after the poor *Indians*; as they were hunting they lighted on a Woman that was sick, who not being in a condition to fly to avoid being devour'd of the Dogs, hang'd her self, after she had hang'd a Child she had with her of a year old; the Dogs presently came to her, and began to devour her: but a certain Frier that was happily there perceiving the Child not to be yet quite dead, baptiz'd it.

When they quitted this Kingdom, they invited the Son of one of the Princes of the Country to accompany 'em, who shew'd a great unwillingness to abandon his Country to follow 'em, on which they threatned to cut him in quarters if he did not consent to their desire. The Child still persisting in the same mind, one of the *Spaniards* drew his Sword and cut off both his Ears: This ill Treatment however could not make him alter his purpose, upon which this Brute cut off his Nose and Lips, and laugh'd

laugh'd while he was committing this barbarous Action.

Another brag'd that he had got many Indian Women with Child, that he might sell 'em for the more Money. Some of the *Spaniards* have been so inhuman as to give Infants to their Hounds, when they were hungry: they would take these poor Babes by the two Legs, and violently tear 'em asunder into two pieces, and then feed their Dogs with 'em. They were left of God to such a reprobate mind, that they made no more account of human Creatures, that were ransom'd by the Blood of Jesus Christ, than of Beasts.

I pass over an infinite number of other unheard of Cruelties, which surpass all Imagination. When these covetous and ambitious Tyrants left the Kingdom of *Yucatan* to go in search after the greater Riches of *Peru*, four Franciscan Friars came thither to comfort these miserable People, and to endeavour by their preaching to bring those that had escap'd the fury of the *Spaniards* to the knowledg of the true God. The same Friars were very earnestly solicited by many other *Indians* to come into their Country likewise to teach 'em the Maxims of their Religion. They assembled in great companies to inform themselves what sort of Men these Religious Persons were, who call'd one another *Father* and *Brother*, to inquire into their true designs, and to know wherein they differ'd from other *Spaniards*, who had exercis'd so much Cruelty over all the *West-Indies*. They were willing to entertain 'em on condition they would come alone to instruct 'em, without any other *Spaniards* to attend 'em; which the Friars promis'd very readily, assuring 'em they would not offer 'em the least Injury. The Governor of *New Spain* likewise now order'd 'em to promise the *Indians*, that they should be treated more kindly

for the time to come, and should find no farther occasion to complain of the *Spaniards* Severity. Thus these Religious Men began to preach the Gospel of Christ with a great deal of Zeal, and inform'd these People moreover of the good Intentions of the King of *Spain* towards 'em; so that in about forty days time, they brought all their Idols to throw 'em in the fire: they as readily brought their Children, whom they bring up with a great deal of tenderness and fondness, to be instructed; and built both Houses and Churches for these Friars with all the Affection and Forwardness imaginable. All the several Provinces strove with great Emulation for their Company, their Zeal was so great for the new Religion they preach'd to 'em. So that what the Governors could never obtain of the *Indians* in many years, these Friars accomplish'd in a very little time: for the Princes and Great Men of these Provinces, at the head of their People in a General Assembly, voluntarily submitted to the Government of the King of *Spain*, whom they acknowledg'd for their Sovereign, and put themselves under his Protection; as may be seen by the account these Friars sent into *Spain* sign'd with their own hands.

These pious Men were transported with Joy to find a door open'd to 'em to preach the Gospel in these vast Provinces, to those that had escap'd the Barbarity of the several Governors, who had massacred such prodigious numbers. About this time there came into these parts eighteen Spanish Troopers with twelve foot Souldiers, who brought with them abundance of Indian Idols which they had taken out of other Provinces; the Commander of these Souldiers sent for one of the principal Chiefs of the Nation, and commanded him to take these Idols and distribute 'em throughout the Country, and to bring him Indian Men and Women in exchange for 'em,

'em, threatening him with a severe War if he refus'd to obey him. This Prince was so terrified with these Menaces, that he carried away all these Idols, and dispos'd 'em in the several Cities of his Province, requiring the People in the name of this Spanish Captain to worship these false Gods, and to render 'em all the Honour and Service they were formerly wont to do. To recompense this Action they gave him liberty to make as many Slaves as he pleas'd. The *Indians*, frighted with the threatnings that were made 'em, deliver'd up their own Children; he that had two gave one, and he that had three gave two. This was the Event of this impious Traffick, the *Cacyque* being forced to obey the Orders of the Spanish Captain. One of these ungodly Wretches, whose name was *John Garcia*, being taken dangerously sick, and ready to expire, bethought himself that he had a considerable number of these Idols under his Bed; and therefore order'd an Indian Woman that he kept to sell 'em, telling her she might make a good market of 'em, the matter of which being very valuable, he told her every Image was at least fairly worth an Indian in exchange. This was the *Spaniards* last Will and Testament, and these were the marks he gave of the pious disposition of his Mind, and in the midst of such Cares as these he gave up the Ghost. By this Story it may easily be conjectur'd what good Examples the *Spaniards* set before the *Indians*, and what progress the Catholick Religion is likely to make among these People; who being Eye-witnesses of such Actions as these, easily perceive that the *Europeans* have so little sentiment of Religion, that they don't much care whether poor Infidels be reduc'd to pay the true God that Worship and Honour they owe him, or not. It can hardly be said that *Jeroboam's* Crime, who caus'd two Golden Calves to be cast, and ob-

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lig'd his Subjects to worship 'em, is more hainous than that of the *Spaniards*, who drive such an abominable trade with Idols, and occasion so much scandal by this shameful kind of Traffick. This is the manner of their Conduct and Behaviour in the new World. They sacrifice every thing to their detestable Avarice, and sell Christ Jesus himself for Gold. They are every day renouncing him, and dishonouring his Religion by the many infamous Crimes of which they are guilty.

The *Indians* seeing the *Spaniards* still continue to ruin their Country, notwithstanding all the expresse Promises the Friers had made 'em that they would abstain for the future from their wonted Robberies; and that instead of mending their own Lives, they brought Idols even from other Countries to expose to sale among them, who had voluntarily resign'd their own to the Friers to be committed to the Flames, being resolv'd to worship but one God in their Country for time to come: Seeing all this (I say) they were extremely enrag'd at the *Spaniards*, and no less provok'd against the Friers, whom they accosted after this manner. *Why (say they) have you deceiv'd us thus by your false Promises? Did not you assure us the Spaniards should no more invade and oppress us? Why have you burnt our Gods, to bring us strange Gods out of other Countries? Are these better or mightier than our own?* The poor Friers endeavor'd to appease 'em as well as they could, tho they scarce knew how to answer their Complaints, having no good Reasons to offer to excuse the matter. However they applied themselves to the *Spaniards*, reproach'd 'em for having so exceedingly scandaliz'd the *Indians*, and conjur'd 'em to leave the Country, which they absolutely refus'd to do; and which was still more vile and unworthy, they perswaded the *Indians* that they had not come into their Country but

but at the request of these Friers: Which pretence had the success they desired; for the *Indians* giving credit to these Stories, resolv'd to kill the poor Friers; but some of 'em giving 'em notice of the Design, they made their escape in the night. After they were gone, the *Indians* perceiv'd they were impos'd on, and receiv'd full information of the Malice of the *Spaniards*, and the base trick they had play'd 'em, and therefore dispatch'd a Message to the Friers to entreat 'em to return, and forgive the fault they had committed, assuring 'em they heartily repented of their Ingratitude.

These pious Men that were devoted to the Service of God, and animated with an ardent Zeal for the Salvation of Souls, confiding in the Protestations of the *Indians*, return'd to 'em according to their request, and were receiv'd as if they had been Angels come down from Heaven: they continued three or four Months among 'em, receiving abundance of respect and kindness from 'em. The *Spaniards*, who still refus'd to quit the Country, tho the Vice-roy had expressly order'd 'em so to do, and had us'd all his Authority to oblige 'em to it, were declar'd Rebels and Traitors; however this did not hinder 'em from continuing their Rapine and Insolence. And tho the Friers were satisfied they would not always escape with Impunity, yet they fear'd it might be a long time before they receiv'd their Deserts; and considering moreover that the continual Insults they made on the *Indians*, depriv'd them of the liberty of preaching to 'em, upon the whole they thought meet to resolve to leave this Kingdom, which was depriv'd of the light of the Gospel by the Malice of the *Spaniards*: and thus these poor *Indians* who manifested such good Inclinations toward Christianity, were abandon'd to their former Darkness and Idolatry, in which they continue to this

this day, while those profligate Wretches still lay the same Obstacles in the way of their Conversion. When these Friars were constrain'd to retire out of the Country, the *Indians* began to imbrace the Christian Religion with a great deal of Zeal and Fervor; but being unhappily depriv'd of all means of Instruction, they wither'd like tender Plants, for want of Water.

Of the Province of St. Martha.

THE Province of *St. Martha* was famous for the rich Golden Mines that are near it, and for the fruitfulness of its Soil. The People are numerous, and very skilful in getting Gold out of the Mines, which easily engag'd the *Spaniards* to go thither, and that in great numbers; they made continual Excursions over all this fine Country to ravage and spoil it; they massacred vast numbers of the Inhabitants, took away all their Gold, and fill'd their Ships, which serv'd 'em for Magazines, with the Booty. They soon laid waste this flourishing Province by the Robberies and Villanies they committed: they did the greatest mischief upon the Sea-coasts, but they soon after pierc'd higher up into the Country, where they endeavour'd to make a Settlement. The Country being rich and fertile, divers Spanish Captains successively invaded it with their Troops, and the last was still more cruel and inhuman than his Predecessor. They seem'd ambitious to outvie one another in the Enormity of their Crimes and Villanies. In the year 1520, a Spanish General attended with a great many Souldiers enter'd into this Province with a resolution of ruining it entirely. He continued there for seven years together, and carried away

away an immense Treasure with him; at last he was condemn'd to be banish'd, and dyed in his Exile without shewing the least token of Repentance. Those who succeeded him went on to massacre those *Indians* that he and other Tyrants had spared; they made both the common People, and the Nobility of this Province suffer most horrible Torments, to oblige 'em by the violence of their pain to discover their Gold: they laid this Country waste for above 40 Leagues, not leaving one soul alive; tho this Province was well stock'd with Inhabitants before their arrival.

To give a particular Relation of all the Extravagances, Massacres and Defolations, of all the Impieties and Villanies committed by the *Spaniards* in this Province against God, against the King, and against the innocent *Indians*, would require a large History: I must therefore content my self to pass over many Circumstances after a cursory manner. The Bishop of this Province, writing to the King of Spain in the year 1541, among other things thus expresses himself: *Great Sir, To redress the Grievances of this Province, it ought to be deliver'd from the Tyranny of those that ravage it, and committed to the Care of Persons of Integrity, who will treat the Inhabitants with more kindness and humanity; for if it be left to the mercy of the Governours, who commit all sorts of Outrages with impunity, 'twill be destroy'd in a very little time.* The same Bishop farther adds in his Letter: *The ill Conduct of the Governours may well engage your Majesty to deprive 'em absolutely of their Places, to relieve these Provinces; and if this course be not taken, the disease will be incurable. I am necessitated to let your Majesty know, that the Spaniards who come into this New World, live here rather like Devils than Christians; they neither serve God nor the King; they violate all the Laws of God and Men with Impunity.*

ty. Nothing can be a greater hindrance to the Conversion of the Indians, than the ill Treatment and Persecution they make 'em suffer continually. These People naturally love peace and quietness; but the barbarous usage they meet with from the Spaniards, inspires 'em with horror and indignation against all Christians, whom they therefore call in their Language Yares, that is to say, Devils. Nor is it without reason that they appear so odious and abominable to these poor Creatures, since the Actions they see 'em commit, are more like those of Devils, than of reasonable Creatures, or Christians. For while the Indians see the Officers as well as Souldiers commit such detestable Crimes; they believe the Laws of Christianity authorize these inhuman Actions, and that neither our God nor our King forbids 'em. 'Tis to no purpose to pretend to undeceive 'em, and remove these Prejudices, as the Case stands; 'tis but only to expose the Laws and Religion of Christ the more to the Contempt of these Idolaters. The Indians now begin to defend themselves from the Spaniards by force of Arms; and choose rather to perish together at once than to suffer a thousand deaths by the Cruelty of these unmerciful Men. Your Majesty has more Servants in this New World than you imagine; for there are none who bear Arms in these vast Countries, and make it their business to plunder, kill, and burn, but give out that they are employ'd here in your Majesty's business, and endeavour to persuade the World that 'tis by your Majesty's Order, and for your Interest, that they do all this Mischief to the Indians: tho the Truth is, they use 'em after this violent manner, only to enrich themselves by plundering 'em of all they have. It seems absolutely necessary for your Majesty to stop the Course of these Robbers by some Exemplary Punishment; and that your Majesty declare you will have none of their Services, who so highly dishonour God and Religion.

Thus far the Letter which the Bishop of St. Martha wrote to his Catholick Majesty: By which it
may

may be conjectur'd how the Spaniards have abus'd the poor Indians. They in derision and scorn call those the Warlike Indians, that fly into the Mountains to save their Lives. And when they force these miserable People, to travel in rough and difficult ways, sweating under the great Burdens they oblige 'em to carry, not content with having overloaded 'em, they aggravate their misery by beating 'em unmercifully, and bruising their Faces with the pommels of their Swords, till the poor Wretches driven to despair with all this Oppression, often cry out, *I can hold out no longer; kill me out-right; put an end to my Miseries by a speedy Death.* And many deep sighs accompany these Expressions, which sometimes they are scarce able to utter, their Strength is so exhausted with their Toil, their Weariness, and the unmerciful Blows which they give 'em, without any regard to their other Miseries.

Of the Province of Carthagena.

THIS Province is situate about 50 Leagues distance from that of St. Martha Westward, and borders on the Country of Cenu; it stretches along the Sea-shore as far as the Gulf of Voaba, the space of a hundred Leagues; and is still larger on the South-side. All this Country from the year 1498. to this time hath suffer'd great Persecutions from the Spaniards, who have exercised a World of violence, and made a great many Massacres here, till they have made all this Country as desolate as that of St. Martha. But I begin to be weary of mentioning so often the Barbarity and Impiety the Spaniards have discovered in America.

Of

Of the Pearl-Coast, and the Island of Trinidad.

THE Spaniards have made horrible Ravage and Spoil from the Coast of *Paria* quite to the Gulf of *Venecuela*, which is the space of above 200 Leagues; and after having committed their wonted Robberies, have taken as many *Indians* as they could, and either sold 'em, or made Slaves of 'em themselves, contrary to the promises often made 'em, that they would treat 'em as their Friends, and as a free People; which Protestations they never took care to observe. And tho these poor People did 'em all the good Offices they could, and were very ready to serve 'em on all occasions; tho they liberally gave 'em all they had to subsist on themselves; yet 'tis not to be express'd with what Injuries and Mischiefs the *Spaniards* requited all this kindness. I purposely omit a great many Disorders which they committed along this Coast, being willing to insist only on those matters that are most remarkable.

The Isle of *Trinidad* is larger and more fruitful than that of *Sicily*, it is join'd to the Continent on that side where it touches *Paria*; the Inhabitants are a very honest sort of People, teachable enough, and well inclin'd to Virtue. A Spanish Captain, accompanied with 60 Cut-throats like himself, invaded this Country in the year 1510, and immediately commanded the *Indians* to come to him, pretending he was come to live peaceably with them in the Island; who receiv'd him and his Company with as great Testimonies of kindness, as if they had been their own Children. The chief men of the

the Country as well as the common People all waited on 'em with abundance of alacrity and joy; they every day brought 'em a quantity of Provisions sufficient for a much greater number of men: For the *Indians* are very much given to hospitality, and readily supply Strangers with all the Necessaries they have. In a little time the *Spaniards* would needs make 'em build a vast house, that all the *Indians* might lodge together in the same place; they us'd this Artifice to catch 'em in the snare they were preparing for 'em. When the work was carried up about the height of two men, they inclos'd a great many *Indians* within, that the work might be the sooner finish'd, as they pretended; but the design was to hinder any Communication between them that were within and those that were without: part of the Souldiers kept the doors of the house with their Weapons in their hands to prevent any from going out; another part went in among 'em with their naked Swords, threatening to cut their Throats, if they made any stir or disturbance; and so bound 'em all like so many Sheep. If any one attempted to make his escape, they immediately cut him in pieces; however divers of 'em escaped, some whole and others wounded, who joining with those that had not yet been shut up in this fatal House, and arming themselves with Bows and Arrows to the number of 200, retir'd into another House, where they thought themselves secure, if they could defend the door against the *Spaniards*; but these set it on fire on the other side, and cruelly destroy'd these poor Creatures. After this barbarous Expedition they retreated into the Island of *St. John* with about 180 Prisoners, who had suffer'd themselves to be bound; where they sold half of 'em, and the rest in *Hispaniola*. When I severely reprov'd this Captain for his perfidiousness and cruelty, he

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satisfied himself with making me this answer : *Don't you trouble your self about these matters ; they that sent me gave me Orders to act after this manner, and to take all those by force that I could not bring away under the shadow and pretence of Peace.* The Spaniards were guilty of a world of such base Actions, in seizing these Indians contrary to their promises that they would treat 'em like Friends.

Let any one now make reflection on the Conduct of the Spaniards, and see if they have any appearance of right to reduce the Inhabitants of *America*, as they do, to such a miserable state of bondage. It was resolv'd among the Dominican Friers to send some of their Order, to display the Light of the Gospel among the Indians that liv'd in the gross darkness of Idolatry, and were out of the way of Salvation : They first sent one that was a Licentiate in Divinity, of great reputation for his Piety and Virtue, who took with him a Lay-brother : they both went through this Country to seek a commodious place for the building of a Monastery ; and conferr'd with some of the Inhabitants what measures to take to succeed in this design. When the other Friers were arriv'd, the Indians receiv'd 'em as if they had been Messengers sent from Heaven ; they manifested abundance of affection to 'em, heard what they said with great attention, as far as they were capable of understanding them ; for these religious Persons not being yet sufficiently acquainted with their Language, were constrain'd to make use of signs to express their meaning.

No sooner was the Ship that brought the Friers gone off, but there came another full of Souldiers, who made use of Treachery and Artifice, according to their wicked Custom, to seize the Prince of this Nation, unknown to the Friers. This Prince's name was *Alfonso*, which was given him either by the Friers, or

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Some other Spaniards ; for these Indians take upon 'em Christian Names with a great deal of Joy ; and before they are instructed in our Mysteries, very eagerly desire to be baptized. This Prince *Alfonso*, together with his Princess, not aware of the Artifices of the Spaniards, and the deceitful trick they had resolv'd to play 'em, were perswaded to go on board one of their Ships, and many other Indians did the like, being all made to believe there was a great Feast prepar'd for 'em ; and they needed the less importunity to entice 'em into the Ship, because they suppos'd the Friers, in whom they put abundance of Confidence, had Interest and Authority enough among the Soldiers to secure 'em from all manner of danger : otherwise they would not have so easily trusted themselves in the hands of the Spaniards. The very moment they enter'd the Vessel, these perfidious Men set sail, and carried 'em to *Hispaniola*, where they sold 'em for Slaves. All the Country was alarm'd at the sad tidings that the Spaniards had carried away their Prince and Princess ; and came in Crowds to seek the Friers, who narrowly escap'd being kill'd by 'em. These good men were extreamly griev'd at the treachery us'd with these poor People ; and would rather have died than suffer'd these Outrages to be on all occasions committed against 'em, if they could have prevented 'em, because these were the great obstacles that hinder'd 'em from embracing the Catholick Religion. However, the Indians were appeas'd by the promises the Friers made 'em, that they would write by the first Vessel that should go to *Hispaniola*, to procure their Prince and Princess to be sent back. Accordingly a Vessel being in a little time prepar'd for this Voyage, they made use of the opportunity to write to *Hispaniola*, to engage these Robbers to restore their Prey, which they obstinately refus'd to do, the Governours of

that Island having had a share in the Booty. These good Friars who had given their word to the *Indians*, that their Prince *Alfonso* and his Princess should be restor'd to em in four months, seeing twice four Months elaps'd without any hope of their return, were oblig'd to prepare for death; there was now no way to avoid shedding their blood for the Glory of Christ, and in his Service, which Sacrifice they had offer'd in the ready disposition of their Minds to suffer before they came from *Spain*: In short, they were massacred by the *Indians*, who believed they were Accomplices of the foremention'd Treachery; and thought their suspicion well founded, because the Friars had promis'd to redress their Grievance in four months time; and yet they saw these promises produc'd no effect: Besides, these Barbarians make no great difference between those religious Men that go to the *Indies* only to instruct and preach to 'em, and the Spanish Souldiers who go thither only to enrich themselves by robbing 'em. However, these good Fathers were unjustly put to death; and one may without scruple place 'em in the Order of Martyrs, and conclude they are now enjoying God in the glory of Heaven. They obediently resign'd themselves to go into *America* according to the direction of their Superiours, and had no other intention in their Voyage, but that of preaching the Christian Faith to these Idolaters, and of putting 'em in the way of Salvation, with a resolution to suffer any hardships, or even death it self, in the prosecution of so pious a Design.

The cruel Treatment the *Indians* met with from the *Spaniards* occasioned 'em likewise to kill two Dominican Friars about the same time. There was in these Provinces, near the Gulf of *Codera*, a City, the Prince of which was nam'd *Higuerote*; who was naturally of a sweet and amicable temper, and his

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Subjects civil and complaisant: when the *Spaniards* came first ashore in his Country, the Inhabitants treated 'em with abundance of Kindness; they supplied 'em with Provisions and Stores in great plenty; and omitted nothing they were capable of doing to refresh and recruit 'em after the fatigues and troubles of their Voyage. This Prince had sav'd the lives of a great many *Europeans*, who had exercis'd their Cruelty and Oppression in other Provinces, when they came to his Coasts half dead with hunger and weariness; and after he had recruited 'em with his good Entertainment, sent 'em safe and in a good state of health to the Isle of *Pearls*, which was the ordinary Residence of the *Spaniards*, tho he might have securely kill'd 'em all, without being ever suspected of the fact. Upon this the *Spaniards* were so well perswaded of *Higuerote's* good inclination toward 'em, that they took his house for their home, and were as kindly entertain'd in it as they could expect to be in their own. While this Country thus enjoy'd a profound Peace, a Spanish Captain coming ashore there, invited divers of the Inhabitants to come on board his Vessel; which they often did, from the entire confidence they had in the repeated Promises the *Spaniards* made 'em that they would do 'em no injury: At length when many of 'em were got into the Ship, the Captain gave a Signal to put out to Sea, and sail'd directly for the Isle of *St. John*, where he sold all the poor Creatures, whom he had thus perfidiously surpriz'd. I soon after arriv'd in the same Island, where I saw this Robber, and had a particular account given me of the Circumstances of this villanous Action; and it seems, to compleat the Crime, he utterly destroy'd this Prince's City. These things were not well re-sented by the rest of the *Spaniards* that us'd to cruise up and down the neighbouring Coasts to pillage 'em;

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for they could not but abhor the Action of this Captain, that he should by so infamous a piece of Treachery abuse this Indian Chief, who had done 'em so many good Offices from time to time, and was wont to entertain 'em as if they had been his own Children.

The *Spaniards* took away above two Millions of Men from the Coasts of these Provinces, and transported 'em into the Islands of *Hispaniola* and *St. John*, where the greatest part perish'd in the Mines, or by other Hardships which they made 'em suffer. It would produce Compassion in the hardest Hearts, to see these Coasts that were once so full of People now absolutely desert. It has been observ'd by many Trials, that one third part of the Slaves which the *Spaniards* take on board their Vessels die by the way, besides those they kill when they search their Houses to take these poor Wretches away. The end the *Spaniards* propose to themselves, which is to get Riches at any rate in the world, induces 'em to commit all this Violence; they carry away great numbers of Slaves, to produce considerable Sums of Money, and yet take but a small quantity of Provisions in their Ships to maintain all these People, for fear of being at too great a charge in transporting 'em; nay sometimes they have scarce enough for the *Spaniards* that man the Ship: so that many of the *Indians* perish miserably with Hunger and Thirst; and sometimes they cast the greatest part of 'em over board, to preserve the rest. A certain Pilot told me, that in a Voyage he once made from the *Lucay* Islands to *Hispaniola*, which is about seventy Leagues, he had no need either of a Compass, or the observation of the Stars to guide his Vessel; for he assur'd me the floating Bodies of the *Indians* that had been thrown into the Sea, serv'd for his Guide throughout this Passage, and

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conducted him straight to the port to which he was bound.

To see the *Indians* arrive in any Island where they design to sell 'em, can't but excite Compassion and Trouble in every Mind that is not divested of all Sentiments of Humanity: To see a great number of Men, Women and Children stark naked, and so worn out with Hunger and Hardship, that many of 'em can scarce stand, and others fall down with Faintness; and to see 'em divided into several Companies like Sheep, Husbands separated from their Wives, and Children from their Parents; for the *Spaniards* are wont to divide 'em by ten or twenty in a Company, and then to cast Lots which share each Man shall have. This is the trade of these Pirates, who arm and fit out Vessels on purpose to carry away these poor Wretches from their own Houses, to enrich themselves by selling 'em for Slaves. When a *Spaniard* happens to have an old or sick Man fall to his share among the rest, he'll complain of such a Lot, and say to his Companions, *Why d'ye give me this old Fellow that's good for nothing? he is not worth his keeping: What shall I do with this sick Slave, that will only be a charge to me, and can do me no Service?* 'Tis easy to see by all this how little account they make of these People, and what little regard they have to the Rules of Christian Charity; 'tis too evident they neither have any love to God, nor to their Neighbour, tho on these two (as our Saviour says) both the Law and the Prophets depend.

The detestable Cruelty and Tyranny of the *Spaniards* in insnaring and seizing these poor *Indians*, when they go in quest of 'em to enslave 'em, and employ 'em in fishing for Pearls, is scarce to be imagin'd. The Torments they make these unfortunate People endure, can scarce be compar'd to any less than those of Hell. What they suffer in the Gold

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Mines,

Mines, tho very terrible, yet is far inferior to that we are now relating. They make 'em dive in the Sea five or six fathom under water (where they are forc'd to hold their Breath) to take up Mother of Pearl; and when they come up to the surface of the Water with Nets full of those Shells, to get a little Breath, if they keep above water something longer than ordinary to refresh themselves a little, a merciless *Spaniard* who attends with a Boat, beats and abuses 'em without measure, and often takes 'em by the hair of the head, to force 'em again under water, to continue their fishing. They feed 'em with a little Fish and a piece of dry hungry Bread, and don't give 'em a Belly full of that neither; they have no other Bed than the hard ground on which they make 'em sleep in their Chains, for fear they should run away. They are often drown'd in fishing thus for Pearl, or else devour'd by a sort of Sea-monsters, that will swallow a Man whole, so that they hear no more of 'em.

'Tis no hard matter to perceive by what has been said, that the Precept of Christian Charity is ill observ'd in this kind of fishing, seeing these poor Slaves are expos'd to imminent danger of perishing both in Soul and Body. The Avarice of the *Spaniards*, who mind nothing but Gain, is such, that they scarce take any care to instruct their Slaves, and to fortify 'em by communicating the Sacraments to 'em. They oppress 'em with so much Labour and Fatigue, that they die in a little time; and 'tis impossible Men should continue long under water without Respiration, and endure the great Constraint they suffer in holding their Breath: The coldness of the Water sometimes makes 'em vomit Blood; and they soon die, partly by having their Stomachs so violently press'd by long holding of their Breath under water, and partly by the excessive

cessive Cold they endure, which causes that flux of Blood of which I have just now spoken. Tho they have naturally black Hair, the Fatigue they undergo changes the colour of it; so that it becomes like the Hair of Sea-wolves. The foam of the Sea sticks so fast to their Shoulders, and in such a manner, that they look more like Monsters than Men. By this fishing trade the *Spaniards* have destroy'd all the People of the *Lucay*-Islands, which were the most skilful and experienc'd in this Employment; and the reason why one of those *Indians* was sold for fifty Crowns or more, and sometimes for a hundred, was because they were marvellously dextrous at swimming and diving. However, those of other Provinces were employ'd too in this work when they could take 'em; so that by this means an infinite number of People have been destroy'd.

Of the River Yuya-pari.

THIS Province is water'd by the River *Yuya-pari*, tho the source of it is two hundred Leagues distant. A Spanish Captain once had the boldness to go up this River to penetrate farther into the Country, and to ravage and spoil it. He massacred abundance of People in his way, laid the Country waste with Fire and Sword, and ruin'd them by whole Families, while they were peaceably enjoying themselves in their Houses, and thought of nothing less: But after all this mischief, himself perish'd miserably, and his Souldiers quarrel'd and destroy'd one another. They that afterwards came into this Country succeeded him in his Cruelties, and are still laying it waste; they commit abundance of Massacres and Robberies there with Impunity, and seem

seem to undertake their long Voyages and Journeys on purpose to precipitate an infinite number of Souls into Hell, that were redeem'd by the Blood of the Son of God.

Of the Kingdom of Vençuela.

IN the year 1526, the King of *Spain*, abus'd by the Artifices of some ill-designing People, who made use of a thousand fetches and excuses to conceal from him the great Devastations the *Spaniards* had made in the new World, to the great prejudice of the Glory of God, the Christian Religion, and the Salvation of the poor *Indians*, gave the Government of the Kingdom of *Vençuela*, which is bigger than all *Spain*, to several *Flemish* Merchants, with full Jurisdiction and Power to do what they pleas'd there, and to dispose of the Country as they thought convenient. They accordingly enter'd it with three hundred Men, and found the People there to be of a meek, tractable and peaceful Disposition, as indeed the *Indians* generally are when left to their natural Temper, and not enrag'd by the Abuses so often offer'd 'em. These were still more brutish and cruel than those *Spaniards* of whom we have been hitherto speaking: They exceeded Tygers, Wolves and Lions in Barbarity, when they saw themselves Masters of this great Kingdom, in possession of it, and the Jurisdiction of it entirely put into their hands: they thought they had ample liberty to do there whatever they pleas'd, and that they might satisfy their Covetousness at any rate, and by all the methods they could imagine, tho never so unjust. They took no care but how to heap up vast Treasures of Gold and Silver; and the abominable

minable means they us'd to this end, shew'd they had no regard either to God or their Prince; nay, they seem'd to have utterly forgotten that themselves were Men, having put on such an inhuman and savage Fierceness; or to come yet nearer to their true Character, they appear'd like so many Devils in the shape of Men.

They ran through these rich and pleasant Provinces, and instantly laid the Country waste for forty Leagues together, wherein were fruitful Vallies of a prodigious extent, and Towns and Villages stor'd with great quantities of Gold. The destruction they made was so general, that scarce a Man was left to carry the News of the Cruelties they exercised in this Kingdom to other Provinces: none but those that hid themselves in Caves and Holes of the Earth, could escape the Sword of these furious and inhuman Creatures. They invented new kinds of Punishments wherewith to torment 'em, to force 'em to part with their Gold by discovering the places where they had hid it: After this manner they destroy'd three or four Millions of People. The Instances of three or four Facts will sufficiently discover how these Brutes behav'd themselves in this Kingdom.

One of the first things they did, was to seize him whom they look'd upon as the Sovereign Prince of the whole Kingdom; they loaded him with Irons to get the more Gold out of him: they endeavour'd by the Tortures to which they put him, to make him discover the places where he had secur'd his Treasures; but he had the good fortune to escape their hands, and fly into the Mountains: His Subjects surrounded him, and hid him in the Woods; but their number was too great to be long conceal'd: so that the *Spaniards* pursued 'em with Swords in their hands, and made a dreadful Massacre among 'em;

'em; others of them they took alive, and sold for Slaves.

Before the *Spaniards* had took their King Prisoner, they were receiv'd in all these Provinces with singing, dancing, and all the highest demonstrations of Joy, as if come to bring Peace and Plenty with 'em into the Country: They frankly and voluntarily gave 'em immense Sums of Gold and Silver; for which all the Compensation they had was to be run through, and cut with Lances and Swords, and massacred without pity. One day when they came out to meet the *Spaniards* to do 'em the more honour, the *Flemish* Commander having order'd a great number of 'em to assemble together in a certain House, cut 'em all in pieces immediately, only some of the poor Wretches got upon the Beams to avoid the fury of the Souldiers; upon which this Commander caus'd the House to be fir'd, and destroy'd them in the Flames. The whole Country was soon turn'd into a Desert; for all that escap'd the Souldiers Rage retir'd into the Mountains.

The *Spaniards* after this pass'd into a vast Province upon the Confines of that of *St. Martha*, where they found the Natives following their ordinary business in profound Peace. All the while they continued here they liv'd at the charge of the *Indians*, who serv'd 'em with as much Affection and Diligence, as if they had ow'd their Lives to 'em: nay, they bore with their troublesome Humors, and continually receiv'd ill Treatment from 'em with incredible Patience. The *Indians* moreover to qualify their ill Temper, brought 'em a prodigious quantity of Gold, and many other things of great value. Yet these Tyrants, when upon the point of leaving 'em, instead of gratefully acknowledging all the good Offices they had receiv'd of 'em, resolv'd to put 'em all to the Sword. The *Flemish* General

(who

(who has since been suppos'd to be a Heretick, because he never went to Mass himself, nor suffer'd others to go) commanded his Men to take all the *Indians* with their Wives and Children, and put 'em into some very large place capable of containing 'em all; and then to declare to 'em that if they had a mind to redeem their Liberty, with that of their Wives and Children, they must necessarily lay down a certain Sum, which this unjust Governor had tax'd 'em according to his own capricious Humour; and to urge 'em the more to answer his Requirement, he barbarously prohibited his Men to give any Victuals to these poor Creatures, till each of 'em had paid the Sum impos'd on him. Many of 'em sent to their Houses for the Sum demanded, being willing to do what they could to redeem their Liberty, and to have leave to go seek something to eat: Yet they were no sooner got out of the Clutches of this covetous Governor, but he instantly sent Soldiers to take 'em again, and subject 'em to the same Confinement from which they had ransom'd themselves with so much difficulty: so that they dy'd in this Captivity with Hunger and Thirst, unless they speedily bought their Liberty again, which they forc'd 'em to do by this barbarous usage. So that many of 'em were taken and retaken thus three or four times, and every time oblig'd to ransom themselves with great Sums. Those that were not able to pay the Tax laid upon 'em, continued in this cruel Prison till they pin'd away with Hunger and Misery. Thus was this opulent Province that abounded with Gold, made desolate in a very little time. There was one pleasant and fertile Vale ravag'd by these Brutes, which extended no less than forty Leagues; they burnt a Town in it consisting of a thousand Houses. After this resolving to advance farther into the Country to discover a new way to *Peru*, they made

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'em; others of them they took alive, and sold for Slaves.

Before the *Spaniards* had took their King Prisoner, they were receiv'd in all these Provinces with singing, dancing, and all the highest demonstrations of Joy, as if come to bring Peace and Plenty with 'em into the Country: They frankly and voluntarily gave 'em immense Sums of Gold and Silver; for which all the Compensation they had was to be run through, and cut with Lances and Swords, and massacred without pity. One day when they came out to meet the *Spaniards* to do 'em the more honour, the *Flemish* Commander having order'd a great number of 'em to assemble together in a certain House, cut 'em all in pieces immediately, only some of the poor Wretches got upon the Beams to avoid the fury of the Souldiers; upon which this Commander caus'd the House to be fir'd, and destroy'd them in the Flames. The whole Country was soon turn'd into a Desert; for all that escap'd the Souldiers Rage retir'd into the Mountains.

The *Spaniards* after this pass'd into a vast Province upon the Confines of that of *St. Martha*, where they found the Natives following their ordinary business in profound Peace. All the while they continued here they liv'd at the charge of the *Indians*, who serv'd 'em with as much Affection and Diligence, as if they had ow'd their Lives to 'em: nay, they bore with their troublesom Humors, and continually receiv'd ill Treatment from 'em with incredible Patience. The *Indians* moreover to qualify their ill Temper, brought 'em a prodigious quantity of Gold, and many other things of great value. Yet these Tyrants, when upon the point of leaving 'em, instead of gratefully acknowledging all the good Offices they had receiv'd of 'em, resolv'd to put 'em all to the Sword. The *Flemish* General

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(who has since been suppos'd to be a Heretick, because he never went to Mass himself, nor suffer'd others to go) commanded his Men to take all the *Indians* with their Wives and Children, and put 'em into some very large place capable of containing 'em all; and then to declare to 'em that if they had a mind to redeem their Liberty, with that of their Wives and Children, they must necessarily lay down a certain Sum, which this unjust Governor had tax'd 'em according to his own capricious Humour; and to urge 'em the more to answer his Requirement, he barbarously prohibited his Men to give any Victuals to these poor Creatures, till each of 'em had paid the Sum impos'd on him. Many of 'em sent to their Houses for the Sum demanded, being willing to do what they could to redeem their Liberty, and to have leave to go seek something to eat: Yet they were no sooner got out of the Clutches of this covetous Governor, but he instantly sent Soldiers to take 'em again, and subject 'em to the same Confinement from which they had ransom'd themselves with so much difficulty: so that they dy'd in this Captivity with Hunger and Thirst, unless they speedily bought their Liberty again, which they forc'd 'em to do by this barbarous usage. So that many of 'em were taken and retaken thus three or four times, and every time oblig'd to ransom themselves with great Sums. Those that were not able to pay the Tax laid upon 'em, continued in this cruel Prison till they pin'd away with Hunger and Misery. Thus was this opulent Province that abounded with Gold, made desolate in a very little time. There was one pleasant and fertile Vale ravag'd by these Brutes, which extended no less than forty Leagues; they burnt a Town in it consisting of a thousand Houses. After this resolving to advance farther into the Country to discover a new way to *Peru*, they made

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use of a multitude of *Indians* in this Journey, whom they loaded with Chains, and their Baggage together: those that fainted under their Burdens with weariness, they kill'd upon the spot, cutting off their heads; and divided the Burdens of them that died among the Survivors.

If one could exactly describe all the Ravage and Massacres the *Spaniards* committed in this Province, together with all the Towns they fir'd, so deplorable a Story would fill every Reader with horror, and almost surpass belief. Many other Tyrants came afterward into this Province, who follow'd the steps of the former in searching for Gold and other Treasure; but they found the Country so burnt, pillag'd and desolate, tho it had heretofore been both very populous and fertile, that they themselves could not but stand amaz'd to think what Cruelties the poor *Indians* had endur'd.

All these Violences were plainly prov'd by the Procurator of the Treasury of the Council of the *West-Indies*. The Acts and Proceedings made in this Affair are yet preserv'd upon record; yet not one of these Tyrants was ever put to death for the Injuries offer'd these poor *Indians*: so that all the Process that was made against 'em prov'd to very little purpose. Those Ministers of Justice that have been hitherto sent into the *Indies* have regarded nothing but their Interest; and studied how to enrich themselves without taking the trouble to examin and punish the Crimes of these Tyrants, who did so much mischief, and committed so many Outrages on the poor *Indians*. They content themselves to say in general, that such and such have committed great Crimes, and abus'd the Inhabitants of the New World; that they have lessen'd the King's Revenues to such a degree. But when they have made these loose and general Enquiries, they go no farther:

farther: Whereas more effectual Remedies ought to be us'd to stop the Course of all these Mischiefs. There is not so much care taken as to evidence and verify these matters; nor do they give their Acts and Proceedings all the Life and Authority they ought: for to discharge their Duty faithfully to God and the King, they should make such Tyrants as these restore all the Plunder they have so unjustly got. And 'twould be no difficult matter to prove that they carried out of this Kingdom of *Vencuela* above 3 Millions of Gold, having utterly ruined the Country for 40 leagues together in the space of 17 years; for so long they continued spoiling this noble and fruitful Region. They have cheated the King of above 2 Millions of his Revenues; nor can they ever be able to repair the damage they have done this delicious Country, unless the many thousand People they have cruelly murder'd could be rais'd again from the dead. What I am now speaking of, only respects the King's temporal Interest, which they have so ill manag'd, without saying any thing of their Blasphemies, their Impieties and Outrages committed immediately against the Divine Majesty. And who shall make reparation for the loss of so many Souls they have precipitated into Hell, in not suffering the Missionaries to instruct 'em? These are the Fruits of their detestable avarice and profanity. As soon as ever they enter'd this Kingdom, they several times loaded divers Ships with great numbers of *Indians*, whom they carried into the Isle of *St. Martha*, and sold for Slaves. Great multitudes of these poor Creatures were likewise carried into *Hispaniola*, *Jamaica*, and the Isle of *St. John*, to the number at least of a million of Men. The Royal Council has been sufficiently inform'd of all these Disorders and Cruelties; but they are pleas'd to connive at 'em, and

and are as willing to shut their Eyes, and take no notice of all the Robberies and Villanies the *Spaniards* have committed on the Coasts of the Isle of *St. Martha*; tho they might have easily hinder'd all this mischief if they had applied themselves to it. 'Twas the infamous Avarice of these Tyrants, that induc'd 'em to take so many *Indians* to sell 'em for Slaves: and the very same covetous humour and phrenzie has seiz'd all the Europeans that have hitherto set foot in *America*. Their Custom has been to take the poor *Indians* out of their houses, with their Wives and Children, to load 'em with Chains, to mark 'em like Sheep that they might distinguish 'em one from another, and afterwards to sell 'em as if they had been born Slaves.

*Of those Provinces of the Continent called
Florida.*

THREE merciless Tyrants have invaded these Provinces one after another since the year 1510, all animated with the same Spirit, and mov'd by the same designs. They all committed the same Outrages throughout this Country, to put themselves by robbing and pillaging into a capacity of buying places of honour and profit, far above their quality: but God was pleas'd to punish 'em after a very signal manner; for they all came to a miserable end; they were buried in the ruins of those Houses, which they had built with the Spoils of so many miserable People whom they had ruin'd and murder'd. Thus were these Provinces left desolate. These Brutes would doubtless have committed yet more Villanies, had not the just Judgment of the Almighty shorten'd their days, and punish'd

nish'd 'em in this Country for the Massacres and Robberies they had committed in other parts of the *Indies*.

When they came into *Florida*, they found it plentifully stor'd with People, who were wise and well disciplin'd both in Civil Affairs, and in Morals: they immediately began to cast a Terror throughout the Country by I know not how many Massacres; so that the poor *Indians* who had never known any thing like it, were put into a mighty Consternation. The *Spaniards* us'd 'em instead of Beasts of burden to carry their Arms, Utensils and Provisions: yet the Inhabitants of one great Town express'd abundance of Joy at their arrival, entertain'd 'em with the best they had, and furnish'd 'em with plenty of Provisions as long as they continued there; they offer'd 'em 500 of their strongest men to carry their Baggage, and look to their Horses. Yet the Spanish General was so little touch'd with the courtesie of these People, that he kill'd their Prince with a Lance, that so he might be in a better condition to pillage them, who little thought of such a bloody fact as this, and other Cruelties with which their barbarous Guests requited their kindnesses. They with their Swords and Lances kill'd all the Inhabitants of another Town, who stood upon their Guard, and endeavour'd to defend themselves from the Hostilities of these Tyrants. They put Men and Women, great and small, Masters and Servants all to the Sword, without any respect either to Age, Sex or Quality. In another Village a Spanish Captain kill'd above 200 *Indians*: he cut off the Lips and Noses of others, and sent 'em away in this condition to terrify the rest of the Country by so horrible a sight. These Cruelties hinder'd the success of the Missions of our Apostolick Men in the *Indies*, who had no good reasons to produce

produce to these poor Wretches, to excuse such Barbarities as these. One may easily guess by this Instance what love the *Indians* must have for the Catholics, and what confidence they can put in their Promises. What Idea can they have of God, when he is described to 'em as infinitely good and merciful? What can they think of his Law, which they are told is so holy and just; when they see those that profess to observe it, not scruple to commit all these Crimes?

Most of these cruel Villains perish'd miserably without the least contrition or repentance; and tho God is infinitely gracious and merciful, there is reason enough to fear they are condemn'd to eternal Torments.

Of the River de la Plata, or Silver-River.

Several Spanish Captains have undertaken Voyages to the *Silver-River*, since the year 1502. The Country upon it is of a vast extent, and contains many great Kingdoms and noble Provinces. The Inhabitants are a very rational and civil sort of People, and live at a considerable distance from the other *Indians*; which render'd it an easy matter to the *Spaniards* to molest 'em with impunity, and to exercise all their wonted Rapine and Cruelty among 'em. They every where carry with 'em the same design of enriching and making themselves great and powerful at the cost of these unhappy People, whom they plunder of their Treasure, as if it were the spoil of a just and lawful War. Wherever they come, they use the same ways and means to compass their design; they torment and kill the People, pillage and destroy the Country, ruining whole Nations to possess themselves of their Gold and Silver.

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On the Banks of the *Silver-River* they have destroy'd divers great Provinces and Kingdoms; and cut the Throats of multitude of *Indians*, treating 'em with all the Cruelties they could invent: for when they were at this vast distance from *Spain*, they did not much fear the King's Authority; believing the remoteness of the place where they committed their Crimes, would secure 'em from the danger of suffering for 'em. This hope of impunity made 'em more barbarously cruel in this Country than in others; so that they liv'd here after the most licentious manner imaginable, without the least regard to Law or Justice. However some of their Actions have been reported to the Council of the *Indies*. A certain Governor one day commanded his Souldiers to enter into a Town, and massacre all the Inhabitants, if they should refuse to give 'em what provisions they wanted. The Souldiers prompted by this Order, and supported by the Authority of the Governor that sent 'em, kill'd 5000 of these poor Creatures; who looking on the *Spaniards* as their declared Enemies, were not willing to trust 'em, or to have any commerce with 'em; and therefore hid themselves, not so much to avoid giving 'em what they ask'd, as to escape the points of their Swords. The other *Indians* were so terrified by this slaughter, that they readily offer'd themselves in great numbers to serve the *Spaniards*. These *Indians* when they were one day call'd by the Governour to receive some orders from him, I know not by what hap, made some delay to present themselves before him; upon which he commanded 'em to be deliver'd up to another Nation of *Indians* who were their mortal Enemies. The poor Wretches as soon as they heard this cruel Sentence, cried out most hideously, entreating the *Spaniards* with tears in their Eyes rather to kill 'em

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outright with their Swords and Lances, than to abandon 'em to the rage of their sworn Enemies. Nor could they by any means be got out of the house where they were; upon which the *Spaniards* hew'd 'em in pieces one after another; while the poor *Indians* complain'd to 'em of their barbarity, expressing themselves with hearts full of anguish and despair after this manner: *We came voluntarily to meet you, to offer our Service to you, and to shew you all the respect we could; and all the return you make to our kindness is to murder us without pity. Our Blood that is dash'd on every side upon the Walls of this House shall be an everlasting witness of your cruelty, and cry for vengeance against you for the unjust death you make us suffer.* 'Tis impossible to reflect on this Action without being mov'd both with horror and compassion.

Of the great Kingdoms and Provinces of Peru.

A Spanish Commander with a great number of Soldiers enter'd these Kingdoms with the Title of Governour; and with a Resolution to heap up a vast Treasure in a little time. He had already given some proofs of his skill and capacity on the Continent; and he every day perfected himself more and more in the Art of cutting of throats and villaging. He was naturally cruel, without Faith, Honour or Religion; he knew no other God than Gold or Silver, and therefore gave himself liberty to commit all sorts of Crimes, to get these Metals any way in the world. He did abundance of mischief in the large Provinces of *Peru*. 'Tis not possible to represent to the life what Persecutions the Inhabitants of this rich Country underwent; and what cruel sorts of death they were made to suffer,

suffer, to extort their Gold and Silver from 'em.

When this Governour first enter'd *Peru*, he rifled divers Villages, and took away prodigious quantities of Gold. He then pass'd into an Island (not far from this Kingdom) which is very pleasant, fruitful and populous. The Prince of this Island, together with the Inhabitants, came out to meet the *Spaniards*, and received 'em with great joy and civility. But in the space of six months, which time the *Spaniards* continued here, they consum'd all the Corn and other Provisions they found in the Island. After this they discover'd that the *Indians* had hid some Corn under ground, to keep against a time of scarcity, for the subsistence of their Wives and Children; which they were constrain'd to leave to the discretion of the *Spaniards*, who took possession of it as their own Property; and hereby reduc'd these poor People to the utmost necessity. Soon after this they left the Island, but first kill'd a great many of the People, and carried away the rest with 'em for Slaves. Thus by the many Cruelties they committed, this Island is quite depopulated.

From hence they went into the Isle of *Tumbala*, which is situate near the Continent; here they massacred all the Inhabitants that fell into their hands. The rest frighted at this cruel slaughter, fled every way they could to avoid 'em; and tho they did this only to save their Lives, it was interpreted a Rebellion against the King of *Spain*; but was only an Artifice of this Tyrant to entrap these miserable People, that he might make 'em surrender to him all the Gold and Silver they had: which they brought to him in great quantities, while he still demanded greater, being resolv'd to leave 'em nothing: And when he had strip'd 'em of all they had, he told them he receiv'd 'em into the number of the King of *Spain's* Subjects, and pretended a great deal of kind-

ness to 'em, promising he would treat 'em as his friends, and not do 'em the least hurt for the time to come. This Hypocrite was for plundering the *Indians*, and terrifying 'em with menaces of the King of *Spain's* displeasure; but had the Policy not to receive 'em into the number of this Prince's Vassals, till he had robb'd 'em of all they had. And yet the Title of the King of *Spain's* Subjects did not secure 'em for the future from his Insults and Robberies.

The name of the Sovereign Prince and Emperor of all these Kingdoms was *Atabalipa*, who brought with him an innumerable Army of naked men, who made use of a ridiculous sort of Weapons, not understanding the force of the *Spaniards* Swords and Lances, and Horses, with which these *Indians* had never been acquainted; he advanc'd his Troops near the *Spaniards*, crying with a great deal of courage, *Where are these Spaniards? I'll never leave 'em till they have made me satisfaction for all my Subjects that have been kill'd by them; of all my Towns which they have burnt, and of all my Riches which they have carried away.* The *Spaniards* came to meet this Prince in good order and well-arm'd, and made a horrible slaughter among his Souldiers; they took the King himself, who was carried on a stately Seat upon the Shoulders of his Subjects. This Prince finding himself in this miserable Condition, began to treat with 'em about his Ransom, for which he promised to give 'em 4 Millions of Crowns: for this Sum they engag'd to give him his Liberty; yet would not stand to their own Agreement, but obliged him to assemble all his People, who to obey their Prince's order came together in Crowds. This King bore such a sway in the minds of his Subjects, that he boasted that the Leaves of the Trees in the Woods durst not move without his order. He told the

the *Spaniards* he was their Prisoner, and they had now power to put him to death if they pleas'd. Upon this they held a Council of War to deliberate what to do with him; and resolv'd to burn him with a gentle Fire: only there was one Captain not quite so inhuman as the rest, who told 'em they ought to content themselves with strangling him, and then burning him after he was dead. When the King was inform'd that he was condemn'd to die, he thus express'd himself; *Why will ye needs put me to death? What Crime have I committed against you? Did you not promise to restore me my Liberty, provided I would pay that Fine of Gold you impos'd on me? Have not I given you a greater Sum than you demanded? However if you are resolv'd to kill me, first send me at least to the King of Spain.* But all his Complaints, all his just Reproaches and Protestations could not hinder them from burning him. 'Tis easy to see that the *Spaniards* had no right to make War with this Prince, and to treat him so inhumanly. But the Captivity of this King, the Sentence of Death pronounc'd against him, and the Cruelty with which they put it in execution, after they had extorted such vast Treasures from him, all sufficiently discover the Genius of these Tyrants, and of what Injustice and Violence they have been guilty both against the Princes and People of the new World.

I have a Letter from a Monk of the Order of *St. Francis* written to the King of *Spain*, by which it will appear how the *Spaniards* behav'd themselves towards the *Indians*: The very Terms of which Letter I'll here set down.

I, Frier Mark de Xlicia of the Order of St. Francis, General of all the Monks of the said Order in Peru, who came into this Country with the Spaniards that first invaded it, do testify what I have seen with my own Eyes of the

the manner of their treating the People of this new World. Having been an Eye-witness, I have a certain knowledge of the Disposition and Manners of the Inhabitants of Peru; they are a meek, good-humour'd and peaceable Nation, and have shewn a great deal of Affection and Respect to the Spaniards; I have seen 'em give 'em great Sums of Gold and Silver, and Pearls of a great value very readily; they render'd 'em all the Services they could require of 'em with all the diligence that could be reasonably desir'd. They never offer'd to make War with 'em, nor so much as to put themselves in a posture of Defence, till they had receiv'd all imaginable Injuries from 'em, and were thereby constrained to it contrary to their Inclinations. They gave the Spaniards as many Men and Women as they needed for their Domestick Business; and when they had receiv'd 'em into their Towns and Villages with all the Honours they could think of, they supplied 'em liberally with all the necessary Accommodations of Life.

I farther testify, that the Spaniards without having receiv'd the least occasion of Offence from the Indians, seiz'd their great Cacique Atabalipa, soon after they enter'd his Country, and burnt him after they had receiv'd four Millions of Gold of him, and after having taken immense Sums out of his Province without any Resistance. They inflicted the same Punishment on Cochilimaca his Captain General, when he came to meet them in an amicable manner with many other Noblemen of Peru. A few days after another great Lord of the Province of Quitonia suffer'd the same fate; for the Spaniards burnt him without having the least occasion given 'em for so cruel an Action: With the like Barbarity and Injustice they burnt Schapera the Prince of the Canaries. They also burnt the feet of Aluis, the first and greatest Lord of the Province of Quitonia, and put him to a great many other Torments to make him reveal K. Atabalipa's Treasures, of which he was utterly ignorant, as it evi-

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dently appear'd by the sequel. They condemn'd Cocompaganga to the same Punishment, who was Prince of the Province of Quitonia: He suffer'd himself to be over perswaded by the Treaties of Sebastian Banalcaçar a Spanish Captain, to come in an amicable manner and surrender himself to the Spaniards; this Captain having given him his word that no Injury should be done him; yet, contrary to this promise, he was burnt alive, with several Caciques besides: and I have been inform'd, that the Spaniards design'd to shew no Mercy to any Indian in the Country.

I moreover affirm, that I my self have seen the Spaniards in several places cut off the Noses, Ears and Hands of Indian Men and Women, without any Provocation, in cold Blood (as it seem'd) purely for the sake of doing Mischief, which is a most inexcusable sort of Barbarity. I have seen the Spaniards set their fierce and hungry Dogs at the Indians to tear 'em in pieces and devour 'em. And I have seen 'em set fire to so many Towns and Villages, that 'tis impossible I should recollect the number of 'em. 'Tis certain they have torn Children from their Mothers Breasts, and thrown 'em with all their might as far as they could, to divert themselves with this brutish Sport. I have often been a Witness of many other Cruelties of this nature, which have fill'd me with Dread and Horror; but I should be too prolix and tedious to give the Detail of 'em.

I protest, that once the Spaniards when they had assembled the greatest number of Indians they could in three great Houses, set fire to 'em and burnt 'em all alive, without any reason, having not receiv'd the least affront from 'em. And a certain Priest, whose name was Ocana, happening to attempt to take a young Child out of the Flames, a Spaniard that saw him, took the Child from him, and immediately cast it again into the Fire, where it was burnt with the rest. This Spaniard the same day he committed this black and cursed Action, died suddenly

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as he was going to the Camp; and I was of opinion that his Carcase ought not to be interred.

I have seen the Spaniards send Deputies to the Caciques and chief Indians, to engage 'em to come and meet 'em without fear, promising 'em to employ their Interest with the King of Spain on their behalf: but as soon as they were come upon the Credit of the Promises that had been given 'em, they were burnt without Pity, or any formal Process. Two of the most illustrious and considerable Indians were burnt in my sight, one at Andonia, and the other at Tumbala. All the Efforts I made to secure 'em from the Flames, and to get 'em out of the hands of these bloody Wretches, were to no purpose; my Discourses and Exhortations made no impression on 'em. I can say with a good Conscience, and in the presence of God, that so far as I have been able to learn, by the long time I have been among 'em, the Inhabitants of Peru have never fomented any Mutiny or Rebellion, or done the least Injury to the Spaniards, who have treated them so inhumanly; but whatever Torments they have suffer'd, they seem'd to have laid aside the thoughts of Revenge. And when they found the Spaniards were always deceiving 'em, and breaking the Promises they made 'em; when they found they treated 'em with so much Tyranny, contrary to all Law and Equity; and that they did not scruple to commit all sorts of Outrages against 'em, they rather chose to die, than to be continually expos'd to such Miseries.

I have been inform'd by the Accounts the Indians themselves have given, that there is a great deal more Gold among 'em undiscover'd than has been yet found; the ill Usage and Cruelty of the Spaniards having made 'em conceal it: and they are resolv'd never to discover it while they are treated with so much Injustice and Tyranny, but will rather die as their Companions have done, who have been put to death with so much Cruelty. The Injuries offer'd these poor Indians are very heinous Sins in the sight

fight of God, and contrary to the Interest and Service of the King, who has been cheated of more Treasure in Peru than would keep all the People in Castile.

Thus far the Letter of that Monk, which was confirm'd by the Attestation of the Bishop of Mexico: He was an Eye-witness of what he here relates, for he went through this Country for the space of fourscore or a hundred Leagues, and continued there nine or ten years, in a time when there were but few Spaniards there. But as soon as it was reported in Spain that this new World was so full of Gold, there presently came four or five thousand People, who spread themselves through these noble Provinces, and possess'd five or six hundred Leagues of the Country, which they entirely ruined, committing all those Disorders and Crimes that have been mention'd before. They have destroy'd a great many more People here than this Frier takes notice of in his Letter: and without having any fear of God before their Eyes, or any regard to the King, or the least sentiment of Compassion to their fellow-Creatures, they have almost destroy'd one half of Mankind; for in the Provinces of Peru alone they have kill'd above forty Millions of People.

A few days after what I have related above, they kill'd a great Queen with Arrows made of Reeds; she was Wife to Prince *Elingue*, who still governs this Province in quality of King: the Spaniards did what they could to seize this Prince's Person, and omitted no Tricks and Artifices to accomplish it; this was the occasion of his Revolt against the Spaniards, and he has ever since continued their declar'd Enemy. They took his Queen contrary to the Rules of Equity and Justice; and 'tis said they kill'd her at a time when she was big with Child, merely to vex and grieve the King her Husband, who lov'd her very

very tenderly. If all the Massacres the *Spaniards* have committed in *Peru* should be recounted, every one would be astonish'd at the recital, and the number of 'em after an exact Computation would surpass all probability, and appear too great to be believ'd.

Of the new Kingdom of Grenada.

A Great number of *Spaniards* went from *Venezuela*, the Isle of *St. Martha*, and *Carthage* in the year 1536, to make a Discovery of *Peru*: Divers others went up higher, three hundred Leagues beyond *St. Martha* and *Carthage*, to discover those excellent Countries that were very fertile, and full of People of a mild and sociable Temper; where is abundance of Gold and precious Stones found, especially Emeralds: they gave this Kingdom the name of *New Grenada*, because the Captain that first set his foot in it was born at *Grenada*. They that accompanied him were very profligate Men, and extremely cruel; they shed human Blood without any scruple or remorse, for they had been long accusom'd to all sorts of Wickedness, and therefore 'tis the less to be wonder'd at that they have committed so many Crimes in this *New Grenada*, where they abandon'd themselves to all manner of Abominations. I shall only mention some Instances of 'em, because an exact recital of their Cruelties would fill the Minds of all that read this History with too much Horror.

A certain Governor that could not get his share of the Booty another had got before him in ravaging this new Kingdom of *Grenada* at his pleasure, tho' he could have seconded him with all his heart
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in the Cruelties and Robberies he committed here; yet being enrag'd to see such a valuable Prey escape him, thought meet to appease his Trouble after a sort, and to revenge himself on the other by making authentick Informations confirm'd by the concurrent Testimony of many Witnesses, which expos'd to light all the Vexations, Murders and Cruelties which this Tyrant had been guilty of in *New Grenada*. The said Informations were read in the Council of the *Indies*, where they have been hitherto preserv'd, and are yet to be seen.

In these Informations the Witnesses depose, that this new Kingdom enjoy'd a settled Peace before the *Spaniards* came thither; that the People shew'd 'em all the kindness imaginable as soon as they came among 'em; that they maintain'd the *Spaniards* with their Labour, and the Fruit of the Ground which they manur'd; that they gave 'em prodigious quantities of Gold, and abundance of precious Stones, amongst others a great many Emeralds; that they freely brought 'em whatever was most valuable in their Cities, the Government of which the *Spaniards* divided among themselves when they had canton'd 'em into several parts: for this they counted a proper method, the better to compass their design of heaping together all the Gold they could possibly find.

When the *Indians* were first subjugated to the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*, the chief Captain, who was General of the rest, took possession of the King's Person as well as of the Country, and kept him Prisoner for five or six Months, without any reason in the World, demanding Gold and Emeralds of him continually. This King, whose name was *Bogata*, in the midst of his fears, promis'd the Spanish General to deliver up all the Gold-plate he had, hoping by this means to get out of the hands of this Tyrant:
he

he sent a great many *Indians* to his House to fetch these precious Goods; and at the several turns they made he gave the *Spaniard* a great quantity of Gold and Emeralds; who was not content with all this, but threaten'd to kill him. Accordingly he commanded this unfortunate King to be brought before him to receive his Sentence. This is the Treatment these Tyrants give the most illustrious Persons of the new World: This haughty General pronounc'd a fatal Sentence against this Prince, by which he was condemn'd to most horrible Torments if he did not immediately send for all the Gold he had: Accordingly this Tyrant's Executioners laid hold of the King, stretch'd him out at length upon the ground naked, and pour'd boiling Rosin upon his Belly; besides this, they put his feet into a Fire, having fasten'd his Neck to a Stake fix'd in the ground, while two of these Hangmen held him by the Arms. The cruel General came from time to time to look upon him while this Torture continued, threatening to take away his Life if he did not speedily deliver up his Gold. God seem'd by his Providence to signify his Displeasure against these Cruelties, in suffering the City where they were committed to be consum'd with Fire in a moment. The rest of the *Spaniards* took pattern by their General, and fill'd up his steps: And having no other trade than that of tormenting the *Indians*, and cutting 'em in pieces, they practis'd the same Villanies in divers parts of this Kingdom: They inflict'd terrible Punishments on several *Caciques*, and all their Subjects, who too imprudently depended on the good words and promises the *Spaniards* made 'em: And this after they had given 'em incredible Sums of Gold, and many Emeralds. These Presents, tho' so valuable, could not soften their obdurate Hearts, and render 'em civil to their Benefactors. The Tortures to which they

they put the *Indians* were to make 'em bring yet more Gold and precious Stones; and the same motive has induc'd 'em to burn all the great Lords of the Country with a slow fire. A great multitude of *Indians* one day came to meet the *Spaniards* with a great deal of humility and simplicity (as their manner is) to offer 'em their service, supposing themselves safe; but while they were sleeping without any apprehension of danger, being faint and weary, a Spanish Captain commanded his men to massacre 'em all, which was accordingly executed. This was done to strike the whole Country with terror and consternation, and to fright the Inhabitants out of their Gold by the horror of so tragical a Spectacle. The General made his Souldiers swear how many *Caciques* and *Indians* each of 'em had kill'd, and how many they had reserv'd alive for their Slaves; these he immediately order'd 'em to bring out into the most publick place of their City, and made 'em there cut off the heads of 4 or 500 of these poor Creatures. Divers Witnesses have depos'd that this Captain order'd the hands and noses of many *Indians* both Men and Women to be cut off, and exercis'd other unheard of Cruelties among 'em. He sent into *Bogata's* Province to enquire who had succeeded that Prince, whom he had so inhumanly put to death: The Men he sent to make this Discovery took as many *Indians* as they could; such of 'em as could not tell the name of their late Prince's Successor, were barbarously abus'd, some of 'em had their Arms and Legs cut off; others were expos'd to the fury of greedy Dogs, and soon torn in pieces by 'em.

They fell upon a great number of *Caciques* and Indian Noblemen by a treacherous surprize in the middle of the Night, after they had assur'd 'em they need not fear any affront or abuse from them. The

innocent

innocent *Indians* confiding in these fair promises, were come down out of the Mountains where they had hid themselves, to lodg in the Cities, not suspecting the ill design the *Spaniards* had against 'em: However these perfidious men surpriz'd 'em, and cut off the Hands and Arms of all they took, letting 'em know they were chastiz'd after this severe manner for not telling the name of their late King's Successor. Another time the General sent a great party of Soldiers into a City to make war with the Inhabitants, because they sent him not a basket of Gold which he had demanded: they made these poor people suffer a thousand Outrages, and massacred vast numbers of 'em. They inhumanly cut off the noses and hands both of Men and Women, and gave others to be devour'd by their Dogs, which were wont to be fed with human flesh.

The people of one of these Provinces, seeing 5 or 6 of their Chiefs burnt to death with a slow fire, were frighted by this horrible sight into the mountains to shelter themselves from the *Spaniards*; they were about 5 or 6000: hereupon the Spanish Commander sent a Company of Soldiers to pursue 'em, and treat 'em as Rebels. 'Tis hard to imagine by what right they assum'd an Authority to punish people as rebels, that were free-born, and did not in the least depend on 'em. When the Spanish Soldiers were got into this Mountain, they fell on the poor *Indians*, who were naked and disarm'd, with a fury like that of Wolves and Lions, when they set upon a flock of Sheep to devour 'em; till at length they were so spent and fatigu'd meerly with slaughtering these poor Creatures, that they were forc'd to give over a while to take breath; after which they renew'd this Massacre with more vigour. And to cut short their bloody work, they threw down the greatest part of these *Indians* headlong
from

from the top of the Mountain, which was very high. It has been depos'd by those that were Eye-witnesses of this Tragedy, that they forc'd above 700 of these poor *Indians* all together down this Precipice, so that they look'd like a Cloud as they fell; they were all dash'd in pieces by this dreadful fall, and died miserably.

The *Spaniards* push'd on this barbarous Expedition to the utmost; for they made a diligent search in all the remote Corners of the Mountain, and gave no quarter to any they found; those they could catch were either cut to pieces, or after many wounds cast down from the top of the Mountain. Nor did these Cruelties satisfy 'em, but they shut up divers *Indians* both Men and Women, whom they had reserv'd for Slaves, in a house cover'd with straw, which they set on fire and so consum'd 'em. They likewise went to the City of *Cola*, where they took abundance of People, with about 15 or 20 of their Great Men; they expos'd these to the fury of their Dogs, which devour'd 'em, having first cut off the hands and feet both of Men and Women; and fix'd these sad Spoils on Poles, that they might be obvious to the view of all, and that the dreadful sight might cast terror and amazement in the minds of all that surviv'd.

The Ravage and Cruelties these bloody-minded Men exercis'd in this new Kingdom of *Grenada* are so great, that if the King of *Spain* dos not apply a speedy remedy, and set bounds to their excessive Avarice and insatiable thirst of Gold, that whole Kingdom will soon be destroy'd, and the Land lie uncultivated and unimprov'd, for want of Inhabitants.

In the space of 2 or 3 years, since this Kingdom has been discover'd, they have without the fear of God or Man put the Inhabitants to death, without any emotion or pity to see so much human blood
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pour'd

pour'd out. There are now scarce any People to be found there after all these Massacres. There are divers fine large Provinces near *New Grenada*; this Country is called *Popoyan* and *Cali*, and is above 50 leagues in extent, which they also have ruined, and made as desolate as the former. Here they have so slaughter'd the people, that this once populous Country is now quite destitute of Inhabitants. Those that come from thence relate such terrible things of the *Spaniards* proceedings there, that one can't hear their sad Stories, without being pierc'd with trouble and compassion in a very sensible manner. In these Provinces they have ruin'd many fine Cities from one end to t' other; so that they now lie buried in their own Ashes: there are scarce any of the ruins of those Cities to be seen, which once contain'd above 2000 Houses. In a word, this Country which was full of Villages, Towns, and Cities for the space of 50 leagues, is now so bare, that there's scarce any token remaining to signify there ever were any such buildings.

Some of the *Spaniards* came from *Peru* into *New Grenada* and *Popoyan* through the Province of *Quintonia*; others of 'em came to *Cali* by the way of *Carthagena* and *Vraba*, but all join'd together to carry on the same design, spoiling a Country of 600 leagues in extent of all its Riches, and extirpating all the Inhabitants after they had plunder'd 'em. When this cruel War was ended, the *Spaniards* took some of the *Indians*, whom they had reserved for Slaves, into their service, and caus'd the heads of several of their Companions to be cut off in their sight to terrify 'em; telling 'em they must all expect to undergo the same fate, if they did not serve 'em faithfully. By the recital of such barbarous Actions as these, the Reader may easily imagin how the *Spaniards* behave themselves towards the *Indians* in the several

several parts of *America*. They feed their fierce Dogs with human flesh, on purpose to accustom 'em to tear Men in pieces, and devour 'em. They carry these Dogs with 'em wherever they go, and barbarously murder the poor *Indians*, to feed these savage Curs with their flesh. They'll say one to another, Give me a quarter of that *Indian* to make my Dog a feast; and when I kill one, I'll pay you again. They commonly hunt in the morning with these Dogs; and when ask'd by their fellows what luck they have had, they answer according to their success. Sometimes one will say, I am content, my Dogs have kill'd about a score of 'em; so that one would think they were speaking of Wolves or wild Boars. Can any thing be imagin'd that exceeds such horrible Cruelty as this? And all these Barbarities have been prov'd and averred by strict Examinations made and produc'd before the Council of the *Indies*.

But I shall add no more, till I shall receive farther information of their other Villanies, which may be expected to be yet greater than those I have mention'd, if greater can possibly be committed. And that which is most deplorable is, that the *Spaniards* take no care to speak to these people of the Mysteries of our Religion; nor seem to regard 'em any more than Dogs or wild Beasts. Nay they have forbidden the Monks and Missionaries to instruct 'em, whom they have even persecuted, and laid a thousand Obstructions in their way, to hinder 'em from preaching the Gospel to these poor Creatures who passionately desired it; and all because they thought the Conversion of these People would be an Obstacle to their covetous Designs, and hinder 'em from getting all the Gold they desir'd. So that these miserable people have been industriously kept in their former ignorance, and know no other God than those of Wood, Stone or Copper; unless

it be the People of *New Spain* (which is but a small part of *America*) where the Monks have exercis'd their Function, and have been suffer'd to display their Zeal with more freedom. In the other Provinces the *Indians* perish without Baptism, or any other Sacrament; and no one gives himself the trouble to instruct 'em; as will farther appear by an authentick Letter from a Bishop of this Country, who expresses himself in these Terms:

I Frier Bartholomew de Las-Casas, Monk of the Order of St. Dominique, having signified my desire to be recall'd from the Indies, had leave to come over to the Court of Spain, to give an account of the deplorable Condition of the Indians. To this I have been mov'd by the Zeal with which God has inspir'd me for Souls redeem'd by his Blood. My earnest desire is, that they may know their Creator, and embrace his Word, that they may be sav'd. And I cannot choose but extremely pity Spain, my native Country, because I am greatly afraid God will utterly destroy it, for the enormous Crimes committed by the Spaniards (who go into the Indies) both against God, against the King, and against their Neighbours. I don't doubt but divers illustrious Persons of this Court, who are truly zealous for the Salvation of Souls, are very sensibly touch'd with the Calamities and Miseries those multitudes of poor Creatures suffer in the New World, who are abandon'd to the fury of the Spanish Souldiers. I resolv'd long ago to draw up an exact relation of these matters, but have been still hinder'd by the continual urgency of those affairs in which I have been engag'd till now. However I have at length accomplish'd this design at Valence, the 8th of December, Anno 1542. This Treatise gives a short account of the Violence, Tyranny, Persecutions, Robberies, Massacres and Devastations committed by the Spaniards in all the parts of America where they have dispers'd themselves.

selves. These Calamities and Disorders are advanc'd to a degree that surpasses all belief, and is the more surprising in that the Spaniards are much less furious and cruel every where else. Indeed the People of Mexico and of the places adjacent, are now treated much better than others; insomuch that no body there dares offer violence to any Indian openly: 'Tis true they exact immense Sums of 'em, but the forms of Justice are at least so observ'd, that the People are protect'd from the Insults and Affronts of such as have more power than themselves. I have great hope our Illustrious Lord, Charles the Fifth, Emperor and King of Spain, who begins to take cognizance of the Tyranny and ill behaviour of the Spaniards toward the Indians, will undertake the protection of these miserable People, who are persecuted against his will, as well as against the will of God. All the miseries that have bin inflict'd on these newly discover'd Nations have bin hitherto conceal'd from our Prince with no less subtilty and address than malice. Yet now 'tis not to be doubted but this wise Emperor, into whose hands God has cast the Government of those vast Regions, and who bears so sincere an affection to Justice, will give effectual Orders to put a stop to these Persecutions. May God preserve this Illustrious Emperor in all the Glory and Prosperity that attends him, for the Salvation of his Soul, and the Preservation of the Church. Amen.

A year after the writing of all these matters above recited, there were published in the City of *Madera* certain Laws and Constitutions made by his Majesty at *Barcelona*, in the month of *December* in the year 1542. which were calculated according to the urgent necessity of Affairs to rectify the Disorders that were then committed with so much Insolence both against God and Man, to the utter destruction and desolation of the New World. For the constituting of these wise Laws his Majesty assembled a great

many Persons, illustrious both for their Quality and Learning, and moreover endued with great Piety, who deliberated on these important Affairs in divers Sessions at *Valladolid*. At length by the unanimous Consent of the whole Assembly, divers Propositions were ratified and publish'd; and which appear the more conformable to the Rules of Christianity, in as much as the Persons who compos'd this famous Assembly had never been any way concern'd in the Outrages offer'd the *Indians*; they were such as had neither wash'd their hands in their Blood, nor reap'd any advantage by the immense Treasures that had been taken from 'em with so much Violence, after the murder of incredible numbers of innocent People. For the Avarice and Cruelty of those *Spaniards* who first set foot in *America* have been the fatal Causes of all the Miseries that new World has undergon.

After the publication of these new Orders for regulating the Affairs of the *Indies*, the Protectors of those cruel Tyrants, who had still some Credit at Court, procur'd several Precepts to constitute Officers to send into divers Provinces of the *Indies*, for they were much concern'd to see the course of their Violence likely to be stop'd, and their wonted Robberies and Extortions obstructed. And thus they to whom the care of suppressing these Disorders, and preventing the farther Insults of these Tyrants was committed, made no conscience of violating that Equity and Fidelity they ow'd both to God and their Prince; for they knew very well what effect the Edicts that were made must needs have, and therefore alarm'd the People before the arrival of the Judges who were sent to the *Indies* to publish the Laws of their Prince, and to put 'em in execution: so that as soon as these Judges came into *America*, they appear'd to be of the same stamp with

with those that sent 'em, and neither regarded God nor Man; they immediately forgot the King's Orders, and laid aside the Reverence due to so great a Prince; and being willing to take part with those Tyrants, that they might have a share of the Booty, behav'd themselves with a Cruelty beyond imagination, and justified those Villanies which they were sent to punish.

So that since the year 1542, such Rapine and Violence has been committed in *Peru*, that the like has not been heard of either in the *Indies*, or any other part of the World: Nor do they exercise their Cruelty only on the *Indians*, whom they have almost exterminated, but are suffer'd by the just Judgment of God to turn their Arms one against another with great fury to their mutual destruction. Some of the People of this new World under the protection of these Rebels, were encourag'd to refuse Obedience to the Emperor's Orders; others pretending they were desirous to address Petitions to his Imperial Majesty, have suffer'd themselves to be carried down the stream with the rest, and have revolted too. For the *Spaniards* are not easily perswaded to surrender those Treasures they have unjustly usurped, or to release those *Indians* whom they have enslav'd. If they don't so often massacre 'em, they increase the weight of their Irons, and impose Laws on 'em more and more unjust and rigorous. And the King with all his Authority has not yet been able to stop the course of these Mischiefs, because they are generally link'd together in a Confederacy, both small and great; and all use the licentious trade of robbing and spoiling more or less according to their power, some more publickly, and others after a clandestine manner. But that which yet further discovers the Boldness and Insolence of these Hypocrites is, that they still make

pretences that they consult nothing but the King's Interest, and the Glory of God in all they do; while 'tis most apparent, they are continually robbing the King, and that with impunity, and are always dishonouring God and Religion by their criminal and scandalous Practices.

That which next follows is a Fragment of a Letter of a certain Person who accompanied the *Spaniards* in their Voyages and Journies, giving an account of their Actions in the various places through which they pass'd: But this Letter being design'd to be sent with other Papers, he that made up the Packets lost several Pages of it which contain'd very remarkable and extraordinary things concerning the Actions of the *Spaniards*. This Fragment I send you is the Body of the Letter, the beginning and end of which are both wanting. However, seeing that which it contains deserves the notice of the Publick, I thought meet to print it, and hope the view of it will produce the same effect of moving you to commiserate the Calamities of the poor *Indians*, as I presume the more ample Relation I have given you above has done: And consequently that your wonted Charity will excite in your Minds an ardent desire to oppose and rectify all those Disorders as much as in you lies.

The Fragment.

— The Captain order'd these *Indians* to be chain'd for Slaves, which was presently done, and he carried away with him great numbers of Men and Women in Chains; so that the whole Country was soon turn'd into a Desert. They took away all the Crop of Corn these poor Creatures had, and whatever else they had laid up for the subsistence of their Families, by which means they

they were soon reduc'd to extreme want; so that many were found dead in the High-ways merely with Famine. There were also above ten thousand of those *Indians* the *Spaniards* took to carry their Baggage, that died on the Coasts: for almost all that went any distance from the Sea were kill'd with the excessive Heat they met with on the Continent. This same Captain following the steps of *John Ampudia*, sent before him two *Indians* whom he had taken in the Province of *Quitonia*, to discover the Villages and Towns that were in their way, and where any Booty was to be got; these *Indians* were either his own Slaves, or those of his Soldiers, some of whom had two or three hundred Slaves a Man, and others more or less, as they had more or less Baggage and Provisions to carry. These *Indians* return'd to their Master, together with such others as they could bring away with 'em. And in these Expeditions all sorts of Cruelties were committed upon Women and Children. They did the same in the Province of *Quitonia*, they fir'd their Houses wherever they came, and burnt all the Stores of Corn the *Indians* had. And to shew their spite the more, as if all this Mischief had been too little, they kill'd their Cattel only for the Suet and Marrow, having no occasion for the Flesh; only the *Indians* who attended the *Spaniards* in these Expeditions ate the Livers, that being one of their principal Dishes. 'Tis scarce to be believ'd what numbers of Cattel they kill'd here; they destroy'd above a hundred thousand after this manner only for the Fat and Livers, and so made the Country desolate by this needless slaughter, which brought such a Famine and Misery upon the Inhabitants, that they died for want of Food: They besides carried away out of this Province all the Corn they did not burn; so that tho the Country

'try produces abundance, there was so great a Scarcity, that a * Septier of Corn was worth ten Crowns, and a Lamb was sold for the same Price.

'The Commander of these Troops being return'd from the Sea-Coast, resolv'd to leave the Province of *Quitonia*, and to join *John Ampudia*. To accomplish this Design he rais'd above two hundred Men Horse and Foot, among which were divers Citizens of *Quitonia*. He gave 'em leave to bring with them the *Caciques*, and all the other *Indians* which had formerly fallen to their share, and to add as many others to 'em as they pleas'd, which they did. One *Alphonso Sanchez* carried with him his *Cacique*, whose name was *Nenuyta*, with a hundred other *Indians* and their Wives. *Peter Cobo* accompanied him with a hundred and fifty *Indians* and their Wives, who were forc'd to drag their Children after 'em, for fear they should perish with Hunger. One *Moran* a Citizen of *Popayan* carried above two hundred People with him; and all the rest of the Souldiers did the same proportionably to their Stock and Occasions. They desir'd permission to make all the Indian Men and Women that attended 'em their absolute Slaves, which was granted; and this Privilege continued as long as they liv'd, tho these *Indians* were the Subjects and Vassals of the King of *Spain* as well as the *Spaniards* themselves.

'With such an Equipage as this our General left the City of *Quitonia*, to go take possession of that of *Ofkaba*, which fell to his lot. He demanded of the *Cacique* five hundred Men to join his Forces, which were deliver'd to him, with divers other Persons of Note. Part of these *Indians* he distributed

'buted among his Souldiers, and took the rest to himself, some of whom were loaded with Chains, and others with his Baggage and Provisions. 'Twas a lamentable sight to see these poor Wretches tied one to another with Cords. When these *Spaniards* parted from the Province of *Quitonia*, they carried away no less than six thousand *Indians*, of which scarce twenty came back to their own Country; for the extreme Fatigues and scorching Heat they endur'd in those hot Countries soon cut 'em off.

'The General having made *Alphonso Sanchez* Captain of a Company, this Brute meeting some Women and Children in his way, loaded with Provisions, and waiting for him to present him with what they had brought, massacred 'em all without pity. In this cruel Action, a *Spaniard* going about to kill an Indian Woman broke his Sword in two the first blow he gave her; at the second stroke he broke it again, so that he had nothing but the Hilt left in his hand: but that which is more surprizing is, that this poor Woman receiv'd no Wound by the blows he gave her. Another Souldier striking an Indian Woman with a large Dagger, had about three Inches of it broken off at the first stroke, and the whole Blade quite to the Hilt at the second.

'When this General, of whom we have been speaking, parted from *Quitonia*, he cruelly separated Husbands and Wives one from another, giving the young Women to the *Indians* that went with him, and leaving the old Women to those that remain'd in the City. One of these Women follow'd him with loud Cries when he went away, and beg'd of him with abundance of Tears, that he would not take away her Husband from her, telling him she had the charge of three Children, and 'twould be impossible for her to provide for 'em

* A Septier is a measure of Corn containing about 240 pound weight.

'em if she were bereav'd of her Husband; so that they must necessarily be starv'd. The General repuls'd her not without some Indignation, upon which she redoubled her Sighs and Cries, telling him her Children were ready to die with Hunger: at length seeing her Prayers and Tears made no Impression on him, she took a Stone and dash'd out the Brains of all her Children in his sight.

'When this Commander arriv'd in the City of *Palo*, which is situate in the Province of *Lilia*, he met with Captain *John Ampudia*, who went before him to make a discovery of the Country, and to settle Peace in it: he was now Governor of this City, which had a Garison in the King of *Spain's* Name, and was under the direction of the Marquess *Francis de Piccaro*, who had establish'd a Council there consisting of eight Counsellors, that had the Inspection of the whole Country, and kept it in Peace and Union by the good management of *Peter Solano de Quenon*. *Ampudia* hearing our General was arriv'd in the Country, came to give him a Visit, accompanied with many of the Inhabitants and *Indians*, who brought him abundance of Fruit, and other Provisions. Many of the neighbouring *Indians* came afterwards on the same Errand, and after them the Inhabitants of *Xamundia*, *Palonia*, *Solimania* and *Bolonia*, did the like. But because they did not bring so great a quantity of Corn as demanded, the General sent a Troop of Souldiers with a great many *Indians* to seek some elsewhere, with Orders to take it where ever they found it. With this Order they went into *Palonia* and *Bolonia*, where they found the *Indians* dwelling very peaceably in their Houses; and without any regard to the Laws of Nations or of Hospitality, took away all the Corn and other Provisions, together with all the Gold and Silver they had, and put

'put many of the poor *Indians* in Chains to make Slaves of 'em. These unhappy People came to make their Complaint to the General of the ill Treatment and Injustice they had suffer'd, and to intreat him to cause Restitution to be made of what had been so violently taken from 'em, but in vain, for he would do nothing in the matter, only gave 'em his promise that his Men should do 'em no hurt for the future, and that they should never come again into their Country: yet four or five days after they went into another part of the Country for Corn, and pillag'd the poor *Indians* as they had done before; who were so provok'd to see themselves deluded by the General, who had broke his Promises almost as soon as he had made 'em, that the whole Country betook themselves to their Arms in an instant; which Tumult afterwards occasion'd many Disorders and great Offences to be committed both against the Majesty of God and the Dignity of the King of *Spain*: At length these People fled, and left this whole Country desolate. They that retreated into the Mountains came down from time to time to seek Provision; the *Indians* likewise engag'd in a cruel War one with another, wherein the stronger party us'd to eat the weaker: For that Indian Nation that inhabits the Mountains are a fierce and warlike People, and mortal Enemies to their Neighbours. After this Insurrection the General went to the City of *Ampudia*, where he receiv'd all the Honours due to his Character; he afterwards march'd with two hundred Horse and Foot toward *Lilia* and *Pelinia*.

'He sent his Captains all round the Country to make a cruel War upon the *Indians*; they fir'd a great many Houses, robb'd all that fell into their hands, and kill'd abundance of 'em. This killing and pillaging continued many days together. The

'Lord

' Lord of the Country hoped to put a stop to these
 ' Miseries, and to allay the bloody Rage of these Ty-
 ' gers by sending their Subjects to 'em with all sorts
 ' of Provisions and other Presents. Soon after this
 ' they came to *Lilia* with all the *Indians* they had
 ' taken, for they would not discharge one of 'em.
 ' They pass'd through *Ycea* in their way, and were
 ' no sooner arriv'd there, but they fell to pillaging
 ' and massacring all they met with; they exercis'd
 ' their usual trade of firing their Houses, they con-
 ' sum'd above a hundred of 'em in one Village; nor
 ' did other Towns and Cities in the neighbouring
 ' Country, which they call *Tulilicui*, fare any better.
 ' When the *Cacique* at the head of a great company
 ' of *Indians* came to meet 'em, the *Spanish* Com-
 ' mander demanded Gold of him and his Subjects:
 ' they told him they had no great quantity, but
 ' would readily give him all they had; and accord-
 ' ingly brought him that little they had got toge-
 ' ther. Upon which he deliver'd a kind of Receipt
 ' sign'd with his own hand to each of 'em, which was
 ' to serve for a token by which to distinguish those
 ' that had given him Gold from the rest; adding,
 ' that whoever had not this Receipt should be ex-
 ' pos'd to the Dogs to be devour'd by 'em. The
 ' poor Creatures terrified by these Menaces, brought
 ' him all the Gold they had in very great haste, and
 ' those that had none were fain to retire into the
 ' Mountains, or into other Cities to save their Lives;
 ' and thus the Country was depriv'd of the greatest
 ' part of its Inhabitants. A little after he order'd
 ' the *Cacique* to send two *Indians* to the City of
 ' *Agua*, to signify that he requir'd the Inhabitants to
 ' meet him, which they might do with safety, and
 ' to bring with them all the Gold they could. After
 ' he had dispatch'd this Order, he went to another
 ' City, and the same night sent a party of *Spaniards*

to

' to seize some of the People of *Tulilicui*, who
 ' brought him a hundred Men and Women the day
 ' following, of which he reserv'd the most robust
 ' and lusty, whom he thought fit to carry great Bur-
 ' dens, for himself and his Souldiers, and put many
 ' of 'em in Chains, giving the young Children to
 ' the *Cacique* of *Tulilicui* to eat, in whose House their
 ' Skins fill'd with Ashes are still to be seen. After
 ' this Expedition he went toward the Provinces of
 ' *Calili*, where he join'd Captain *John d' Ampudia*,
 ' who was gone another way to make a further
 ' discovery. These two Commanders left great
 ' marks of their Cruelty in all the Provinces through
 ' which they pass'd. *Ampudia* happen'd to come
 ' to a certain City, the Governor of which, whose
 ' name was *Bitacon*, had made deep works under
 ' ground to hinder the approach of an Enemy:
 ' Two of the *Spaniards* Horses, that of one *Antony*
 ' *Redondon*, and that of *Marc Marqués*, fell into these
 ' Traps, and the latter of 'em dy'd with the fall,
 ' but the other escap'd the danger. However this
 ' small loss by the Stratagem of the *Indians* so pro-
 ' vok'd this Captain, that he order'd his Men to
 ' take all of 'em they could light on, which was
 ' about three hundred, and to cast 'em into these
 ' Pits; besides this they fir'd a hundred Houses.
 ' From hence they came to a very great and populous
 ' City, here they had no Interpreter by whom to
 ' converse with these *Indians*; however they massa-
 ' cred abundance of 'em with their Swords and
 ' Lances. As soon as these two Commanders met
 ' one another again after all these Expeditions, *Am-
 ' pudia* gave the other a relation of what he did at
 ' *Bitaconia*, and told him how many *Indians* he had
 ' cast into the Pits that were made at the entrance
 ' of the City, while the other applauded all he had
 ' done, telling him he had reason to serve 'em after
 ' that

that manner: And added, that for his part he had destroy'd above two hundred *Indians* near the River *Bamba*, which waters the Province of *Quitonia*. Thus these two Tyrants made War upon all this Country at the same time. They both after this enter'd into the Provinces of *Birumia* and *Anzerma*, where they left everlasting tokens of their Barbarity and Fury. One *Francis Garcia*, whom they sent out to pillage the Country, treated the People with abundance of Insolence, till he reduc'd 'em to extreme Indigence and Misery. The *Indians* came to him by couples, making signs to desire Peace for the whole Country, promising to give the *Spaniards* all they should demand, and to deliver up their Gold, and their Wives too, provided they would give 'em their Lives; but receiv'd no other Answer from this cruel *Garcia*, but that they must be gone, for he had drank too much, and was now in no condition to consider of what they said. He enter'd their Country full of Fury, and running through the whole Province, put it all under Military Execution, robbing, and spoiling, and massacring the Inhabitants without mercy: he carried away two thousand of the People with him, who were put in Chains, and dy'd under the rigor of their cruel Bondage: And before he left this Country he put fifty more to a violent Death.

After he had fill'd this Province with misery and horror, he pass'd into the Province of *Calili*. When any of the *Indians* that carried his Baggage fainted with weariness, and fell under their Burdens in the way, they kill'd 'em on the spot, to terrify the rest by these bloody Actions, that none of 'em might dare to pretend themselves sick to get rid of their Burdens and Labours. And thus they were all destroy'd by degrees; for partly be-

cause

cause they were not sufficiently look'd after, and partly because unreasonable Labour was exacted of 'em, there was not so much as one of all those *Indians* left alive, which they brought from *Quitonia*, *Pastonia*, *Quilla*, *Cangapatra*, *Popaya*, *Lilia*, *Calicia*, and *Anzerma*. As the *Spaniards* return'd, they pass'd through a great City, where they put most of the Inhabitants to the Sword, and carried away 300 Prisoners, whom they enslav'd according to their usual manner.

The General sent *John Ampudia*, when they were in the Province of *Lilia*, with a considerable Party of Soldiers into those parts of the Country most inhabited, to take as many *Indians* as he could to carry the Baggage; because not one of that number they brought from *Anzerma* and *Allia*, which amounted to about 1000 Men, was able to endure the Fatigue, but all died in the way. They here took as many as they had occasion for to carry their Baggage, and the rest were left to the discretion of the Soldiers, who put 'em in Chains, and kept 'em till they were starv'd; so that this Country was quite unpeopled, neither *Spaniards* nor *Indians* being now to be found in it. After all these Ravages, they advanc'd toward *Popaya*, leaving *Martin d'Aquirra* by the way, he being unable to follow the rest. As soon as they arriv'd at *Popaya*, they form'd a Garison in the City, and treated the Inhabitants with the same Insolence and Violence they had us'd in all other parts of the Country where they had made their Progress. Here they coined Money with the King's Image and Arms upon it; they stamp'd all the Gold they had, as well as that which *John d'Ampudia* had got by his Robberies, after this manner. All this Gold was melted by the General's Order, without keeping any Account of it, or paying any of the Soldiers,

unless

' unless it were such as had lost their Horses; so
 ' that he kept almost all the Gold for his own private
 ' use. He pretended indeed to take the 5th part of
 ' it, which is the King's due, and to go to *Cuzco* to
 ' give an Account of it to his Majesty's Intendent;
 ' but took another way, and return'd into the Pro-
 ' vince of *Quitonia*, taking up many *Indians* as he went,
 ' who all died under the heavy Yoke of their slavery.
 ' He afterwards effac'd the King's Image, which he
 ' had stamp'd upon this new Money. And 'tis re-
 ' markable concerning this Man, that he could not
 ' but reflect on all the mischief he had done, and on
 ' the Cruelties he had committed; for he was wont
 ' to say of himself, Whoever shall come into these
 ' Provinces 50 years hence, and be told what kind
 ' of life I led here, will say, *Such a Tyrant went this*
 ' *way, and here are everlasting marks of his Violence*
 ' *and Cruelty.*

' It is not to be conceal'd from *Your Highness*, that
 ' the rest of the *Spaniards* who came into the *Indies*
 ' after him, have endeavour'd to tread in his steps,
 ' and have exactly follow'd the Example he set 'em;
 ' for they have committed the same Injustice and
 ' Villany, and so they still continue to do.

Among the other Remedies propos'd by the Lord
Bartholomew de Las-Casas in the Assembly of Prelats
 and Learned Men whom the King call'd together at
Valladolid, to reform the Affairs of the *Indies*, in
 the year 1542, he advises, That the King of *Spain*
 should take the *Indians* under his protection, and
 consider 'em as his lawful Subjects, that by this
 means they may be shelter'd and guarded from the
 continual Tyranny and Insolence of their Enemies,
 and not be utterly extirpated by Massacres, which
 have bin so often committed with Impunity. For as
 fruitful and populous as this New World has been,

and Cruelties in the West-Indies. 115
 it will soon be laid entirely waste, and turn'd into a
 barren Desert, if the *Spaniards* be still suffer'd to
 root out the Inhabitants, as they have hitherto
 done.

The Words of the Bishop on this Subject are as
 follows:

The most proper and best Expedient, and which is
 of great importance for your Majesty's Interest, with-
 out which all others will be fruitless, is, that your Ma-
 jesty send express Orders to all your Courts and Tri-
 bunals in the *Indies*, to receive all the *Indians*, both
 those that have been already subjugated, and those
 that shall be conquer'd for time to come, into the num-
 ber of your free Subjects, that all the Provinces they
 inhabit be united to the Kingdoms of *Castile* and
Leon, and that all the Inhabitants be incorporated
 as your own People, so that they shall not be capa-
 ble of being enslaved by any *Spaniard*; and that this
 Law and Order be inviolably observ'd: that for the
 future these new Provinces may not be dismember'd
 and alienated from the Crown of *Spain*, under any
 pretext whatsoever, tho never so great necessity
 should be pretended; and never so pressing inter-
 cession be made with your Majesty to obtain the Ti-
 tle of a particular Sovereignty for any one: That
 all the world may know that the Government
 of those Provinces that are subdued in the *In-
 dies*, is inseparably united to your Majesty's Crown,
 and a part of your Property. That to confirm this
 Constitution the better, and to render it the more
 solemn and inviolable, your Majesty would please to
 take an Oath upon the Holy Gospel, on your Crown,
 and all that is most sacred, in the form and manner
 Princes are wont to do on such Occasions, that you
 will never revoke this Edict; and that your Succes-

fors be oblig'd to take the same Oath : And that your Majesty take care to make it one express Article of your last Will and Testament to engage your Successors to observe this Law, and to make others observe it, as much as lies in their Power.

Divers reasons are afterwards produc'd to shew that this Policy is of absolute necessity for the Preservation of *America*, and to hinder the utter Extirpation of the *Indians*.

The insatiable Covetousness of the *Spaniards*, who mind nothing but to amass together heaps of Treasure, makes 'em unwilling to suffer any Priest or Monk to come into those Cities where they are Masters, for fear their worldly Interest should receive considerable damage by that sort of Men; because (they say) it makes the *Indians* idle, to assemble 'em (as they do) to instruct 'em in the matters of Religion; for all the time they take up to preach to 'em, they detain 'em from the Work imposed on 'em. Sometimes when the poor *Indians* have been assembled for their instruction in Christianity, the *Spaniards* have insolently accosted 'em with Cudgels in their hands; taking such a number of 'em as they think fit, to carry their Baggage or any such like Service; and if they are unwilling to obey, they force 'em to it with Blows in the sight of all the rest, and in the presence of the Monks that instruct 'em; which is a great Scandal to our Religion, and a mighty Obstacle to their Conversion, who are strangely terrified and hinder'd in these pious Exercises as well as the Monks that preach to 'em, by this ill usage.

Another Inconvenience the *Spaniards* pretend they receive from these Instructions, is, that when the *Indians* are converted and plac'd in the number of Christians, they grow proud and insolent, thinking better of themselves than they are, and refuse to work so hard

hard as they did before. For the *Spaniards* are very ambitious to command the *Indians* as their absolute Slaves, and to be obey'd, respected, and even ador'd by 'em; and therefore omit nothing that may hinder them from becoming Christians.

Sometimes 3 or 4 Towns or Villages are given up to the disposal of a certain number of *Spaniards*, and the Inhabitants distributed among 'em, to some more, to others fewer; and it often happens that a Woman falls to one Man's share, whose Husband falls to the Lot of another, and their Children to a third; so that they divide these miserable Families like Flocks of Sheep. They employ 'em in all sorts of service, as to manure the ground, to work in the Mines, and to carry Burdens in Journeys of 50 or 60 Leagues. And their Masters so constantly exact the hard Tasks of Work they set 'em, that the poor Wretches have not time to attend the Instructions of the Divine Word, and to learn the Rules of Christianity. These People, tho free, have been made Slaves, and the greatest part of 'em destroy'd. Parents and Children have been slaughter'd together; Villages and Cities entirely ruin'd, and not a House left standing. And the *Spaniards* have no more regard to their Salvation, than if their Souls and Bodies died together, and were incapable of eternal Rewards or Punishments.

The *Spaniards* undoubtedly have an Obligation of Duty upon 'em to instruct them in the Doctrine of Christ; but they are so ignorant themselves, that 'tis not much to be wonder'd at, if they take no care to inform others. I knew one *John Colmenero* in the Isle of *St. Martha*, as dull, as ignorant and whimsical a fellow as one should meet with, to whom the care of instructing the *Indians* in a great City was committed, tho he scarce knew how to make the sign of the Cross; and when he was examined about the

the course he took to instruct the *Indians*, could make no other answer, but that he taught 'em to say, *Per signum sanctum Cruces*. By which one may easily guess at the profound Understanding of the Man. And how indeed is it possible for the *Spaniards* to teach the *Indians* Christianity, and to inform 'em what is necessary to Salvation, when the most noted Spanish Lords, and such as make the greatest figure in the *Indies*, scarce know how many Commandments there are? For they go into *America* only to gratify their insatiable Covetousness. They are generally given to all sorts of Vices; and so immodest, voluptuous and effeminate, that if a just Comparison were made between them and the *Indians*, these latter would be found to have much more Virtue and Honesty: For as ignorant and barbarous as they be, they are content with one Wife according to the Laws of Nature, as a necessary help to 'em; whereas the *Spaniards* lay aside all respect to the will of their Maker, and take 14 or 15 Women, or as many as they please, to satisfy their brutish Passions, how opposite soever this Plurality of Wives is to the Law of God. The *Indians* scarce know what it is to take away one another's Goods, and live innocently by their Neighbours, without offering 'em any Violence or Oppression. And what thoughts must such People as these have of those that call themselves Christians, when they see 'em commit all manner of Crimes and Villanies; when they see 'em guilty of so much Injustice and Treachery, and in a word, of all the Abominations of which men that are left of God, and have no principle of honour or conscience can be capable? This makes many *Indians* laugh at the God we worship, and persist obstinately in their Incredulity. They believe the God of the Christians to be the worst of Gods, because his Worshipers are the worst of Men.

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As for your Majesty, they think you are the most cruel and impious Prince in the World, while they see the Cruelty and Impiety your Subjects so insolently commit; and they verily believe your Majesty lives upon nothing but human flesh and blood. Probably this account may very much surprize your Majesty, who perhaps have not yet receiv'd sufficient information about these matters; but this Opinion is of long standing, and become inveterate among 'em. I could produce a great many Instances, of which I have been an Eye-witness, to convince you of the Truth of it; but I am afraid of making your Majesty too uneasy, and of filling the Reader's mind with too much horror, by reciting such extraordinary and unparallel'd Stories, which may give a just occasion of Wonder, that God has so long defer'd to inflict some exemplary and terrible Judgment upon *Spain*, to punish all the Abominations the *Spaniards* have committed in the *Indies*. The Pretence of subjecting the *Indians* to the Government of *Spain*, is only made to carry on the design of subjugating 'em to the Dominion of private Men, who make 'em all their Slaves. One *Spaniard* who has the Government of a Town or City, does more mischief by his vitious and scandalous Example, than a hundred Priests and Monks can do good in endeavouring to advance Christianity by all their Piety, and the exemplary Sanctity of their Lives.

When the *Spaniards* have the Government of any place committed to 'em, or have any personal concern, or special interest in it, they'll be sure to oppress and harass the poor *Indians*, and offer 'em all the Abuses that can be. And 'tis now become almost impossible for your Majesty or your Ministers to stop the Course of these Oppressions, and regulate these Disorders; for the *Spaniards* terrify the *Indians* by their threatnings, and sometimes kill 'em to prevent

their complaints against 'em: and of this kind of Cruelty we have many Instances: So that the poor *Indians* are continually molested and harassed, without any calm Intervals in which to compose their Minds, and therefore are not capable of applying their Thoughts to the consideration of Divine things. Their whole Life is spent in Sorrow and Anguish under their Persecutions and Torments. This makes 'em mortally hate your Majesty, and abhor the Christian Religion; for they can't but think you impose a severe Yoke on 'em with intolerable Tyranny, that you are the most covetous Prince upon Earth, and that therefore they ought to leave no stone unturn'd to get clear of your Government. The despair under which they lie, occasions 'em to belch out a thousand Curses against our God, attributing all the Miseries they suffer to him, whom they accuse of Blindness, Injustice, and want of Compassion, for not punishing the Outrages committed against 'em under the pretence of obliging 'em to embrace his Religion, and for not chastising the Impiety of such as make a boast of being his Servants, while they are guilty of the highest Abominations. This inflames their Zeal towards their false Gods, which they say are much better than ours, who has brought all manner of Miseries upon 'em, whereas their own were the Authors of all kinds of Blessings.

We shall make it evidently appear to your Majesty, that the *Spaniards* in about eight and thirty or forty years have unjustly put to death above twelve Millions of your Subjects; and what an incredible damage must your Majesty have farther sustain'd by these Massacres, as they have hinder'd all these People from multiplying, who would have amounted to an infinite number, the People of this new World being very fruitful, and the Climat generally very

ry temperate and pleasant, and consequently very proper for Generation? The *Spaniards* have massacred and destroy'd all these Nations, to possess themselves of their Country, and to usurp the Government of it, so as to have it entirely at their disposal. And how unjust soever those Wars have been which they have made upon the *Indians*, if the poor Creatures put themselves in a posture of Defence, they cruelly cut their throats without any distinction of Quality, Sex or Age: Such as escape their Fury they reserve for Slaves, many of whom they condemn to the Gold or Silver Mines, others they yoke together like Beasts to make 'em carry vast Burdens. They don't much concern themselves whether the *Indians* live or die, provided they reap some advantage by their Labour, and heap up Gold at any rate in the World. I pass over in silence a great many of the Torments these poor People have been made to endure on all occasions. If any shall attempt to persuade your Majesty of the contrary, we'll undertake to prove what Violence the *Spaniards* have us'd among the *Indians* by invincible and undoubted Evidence: And shall not scruple to say, that whoever take upon 'em to deny the truth of these matters, have in all appearance partaken of those Robberies, or at least hope to have a share of 'em one time or other. For what shew of probability is there in saying the Contagion of the Air has so entirely destroy'd the People of a Country of 2500 Leagues extent, that there's scarce a Man to be found?

The *Spaniards*, who know no other God but their Interest, have sullied the Reputation of the poor *Indians* with the most odious Stain that can be imagin'd, in accusing 'em of being addicted to an infamous and abominable Sin against Nature; a Calumny as ill contriv'd as 'tis unjust. For that Crime has never been

been heard of in the Islands of *Hispaniola*, *St. John*, *Cuba*, and *Jamaica*, which have been very populous. This I can speak with assurance, as knowing it to be true, because I took care to inform my self of it as soon as I came ashore in the new World. Nor is it so much as known what this Vice is in all *Peru*; not one Man has ever been found guilty of it in the whole Kingdom of *Tucatan*; and the like may be asserted in general of other Countries of *America*. Only 'tis said, that in some very remote parts of it there are some People addicted to this monstrous Crime: But is it reasonable for this to accuse the whole new World, and to cast an everlasting Reproach on so many different Nations? We must say the same of another Enormity charg'd upon the *Indians*, namely their eating of Human Flesh. There are indeed in some particular places a sort of Men so barbarous that they eat their own kind; but 'tis very unjust to take occasion from this to report the same of all *America* in general. Another pretence the *Spaniards* use, by which to justify their ill Carriage towards the *Indians*, is their Idolatry; as if it did not belong to God rather than to them, to punish those that offend him by such abominable Worship when he sees meet.

Besides, the Lands and Territories they possess are not under the Jurisdiction of the *Spaniards*, nor are the *Indians* oblig'd to own any other Governors than their lawful and natural Sovereigns. Our Ancestors before they were instructed in the Doctrine of Christianity, were buried in the gross darkness of Idolatry as well as the *Indians*. And before the coming of Christ, all the Nations of the World in general were guilty of that Crime. But that which evidently proves the Minds of the *Indians* to be very susceptible of our Religion, is the Mildness, Humility and Courtesy they at first express'd to the

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Spaniards, and the patience wherewith they have since undergone their Cruelties.

'Tis a most inexcusable piece of Wickedness in the *Spaniards*, that they have made use of all the Obstructions they could, and that deliberately, to hinder the *Indians* from imbracing the Christian Faith; they have driven away all the Monks that came into the *Indies* to preach the Gospel, from those places where they had power enough to do it, because they did not care these Religious Persons should be Witnesses of the Tyranny and Cruelty they exercis'd on the poor People. They have even debauch'd the *Indians* by the ill Example they have set 'em, and taught 'em a great many Vices they never heard of before they conversed with the *Spaniards*, such as Oaths and Blasphemies against the Name of Christ, the Practice of Extortion, Lying, and many other Sins that seem'd opposite to the sweet and peaceable Temper of these People: So that to leave these poor *Indians* under their Government, is visibly to expose 'em to utter Destruction, and to make 'em miserable both in Soul and Body.

King *Ferdinando* was so far impos'd on by the Artifices of some self-interested Men, as to give 'em leave to transport the Inhabitants of the *Lucay*-Islands into *Hispaniola*: these People were forc'd out of their Houses, and out of their Country, in pursuance of this Grant, which was subtly obtain'd, and occasion'd the destruction of above a hundred thousand People; so that there now remain but eleven of 'em in fifty Islands, some of which are bigger than the *Canaries*, that were well stor'd with People. And this I can affirm on my own knowledge, if your Majesty could have seen the Ravages and Massacres that have been committed in the *Lucay* Islands, you would have been pierc'd with the most lively sentiments of Compassion; and then I should have

have been afraid to incommode your Majesty by reviving the memory of that Tyranny, in giving an exact Recital of it. We have taken notice above of the unjust Wars the *Spaniards* formerly rais'd against the *Indians*; we have shewn how they massacred 'em against all Law and Equity, how cruelly they depriv'd 'em of their Children, their Parents, and Friends; how they have laid waste one of the finest Countries in the World, and render'd it in a manner destitute of Inhabitants. This Barbarity makes the Earth groan, the Angels lament these Miseries: And God himself has given us to know by the Judgments he has inflicted on us, how much these unjust and violent Actions displease him.

The *Spaniards* have taken from the *Indians* all they had; they make 'em work till they spit Blood, they expose 'em to all sorts of Hardships, and exact intolerable Tasks of 'em; and, which is yet more horrible, after all they load 'em with heavy Blows, beating, whipping and tormenting 'em with the utmost Cruelty. To give up the *Indians* to the Government and Tyranny of these Men, is as great a madness, as to give Children into the hands of Men that are acted by a raging Phrenzy, and have Knives and Daggers ready in their hands to cut their Throats; or to sacrifice Men to the fury of their sworn Enemies, who have long entertain'd the desire of Revenge, and form'd a design to murder 'em; or to expose a young beautiful Virgin to the Discretion of an impudent Ravisher. Who in such a conjuncture, without the interposition of special Grace, would abandon himself to the Conduct of his Passions? In a word, it would be the same thing as to give 'em up to so many wild Bulls, Wolves, Lions and Tigers, when inrag'd with pressing Hunger: for all the Prohibitions that should be given these wild Beasts not to touch such as are expos'd to their fury, would have

have just the same effect to prevent 'em from being devour'd, as any Charge that can be given the *Spaniards* to hinder 'em from murdering the *Indians* to possess themselves of their Gold and Silver. We dare assure your Majesty after the long Observation we have made of these matters, that if your Majesty should order a Gibbet to be set up at every *Spaniard's* door, and should swear upon your Crown, that you would cause every Man to be hang'd that should kill or offer any considerable Injury to the *Indians* to get their Riches; this would not be an effectual Remedy to these Disorders, if your Majesty gave 'em any Authority or Power over 'em either directly or indirectly. The same occasions of doing mischief would still present, and defeat all the Prohibitions that could be made, and all the Punishments that could be us'd to terrify 'em.

Nor are the poor *Indians* expos'd only to be made Slaves by the *Spaniards*, but suffer abundance of Oppression from a cruel Tyrant, that has the Government of each Town or City, who has a severe Eye over 'em, to see how they acquit themselves of their Labors, and perform the Tasks impos'd on 'em. His business is to plague and torment 'em so many different ways, that their Sufferings are almost beyond comparison; he beats 'em with Cudgels, tears their Flesh with Whips, and causes burning drops of Fat to be distill'd on their naked Bodies. He is continually exercising his Invention in contriving new Tortures, he violates their Wives, takes away their Turkeys, which they count one of their greatest Treasures; these Fowls serve him to make Presents to the General, who is superior to all these petty Tyrants. But 'tis impossible to give a particular description of all the Punishments these poor Wretches endure; and after all to stop their Complaints,

plaints, they threaten to accuse 'em of Idolatry. Thus the poor *Indians* are subject to the Authority of several different Powers, to your Majesty, to their *Cacique*, and to the *Spanish* Governor, besides twenty other little Tyrants, destitute of Reason, Honor and Conscience, who commit all sorts of Outrages; and likewise the *Moors* whom the chief Tyrant employs to rob and oppress the poor *Indians*.

'Tis much to be fear'd that Almighty God will make *Spain* feel some extraordinary marks of his Displeasure and Indignation for these enormous Crimes: nay, there appear already some tokens of the Divine Anger against the *Spanish* Nation, for the Disorders and Devastations made by some in the new World: for tho' God had laid up such quantities of Treasure there, that it may be said neither *Solomon* nor any other Prince ever possess'd a stock of Gold and Silver comparable to that which the People of these vast Regions enjoy'd; yet they have bin so pillag'd, that now there's little remaining among 'em: But that which is more unaccountable is, that there's scarce any of that Silver now to be found, that was so common in *America* when the *Spaniards* first discover'd it. This makes every thing extraordinary scarce there, so that the *Spaniards* are reduc'd to extreme Poverty and Indigence.

All the while *Larés* govern'd the *Indies*, there was no more care taken to instil the Principles of Christianity into the poor *Indians*, and to put 'em in the way of Salvation, than if they had no Souls to save. This General applied himself only to plunder the great Cities, and would give a hundred *Indians* to one *Spaniard*, and fifty to another, as he had more or less respect for 'em. He made no distinction of Age or Condition, but promiscuously distributed old Men, and bigbellied Women, as well as others, Persons of Eminency and Princes as well

as the common People, to oblige his Favorites; as if these *Indians* were his absolute Property. Their new Masters made 'em work in the Gold Mines, or employ'd 'em in any other Service they pleas'd; and without regard to their Rank or Quality, oblig'd 'em to bear this slavish Yoke till they dy'd.

This Governor suffer'd the *Spaniards* to confine eighty thousand of 'em in the Mines, who were all married Men, while their desolate Wives were forc'd to labor in the Villages, in digging the ground, making Ditches, and throwing up Banks, a sort of work fit only for the strongest Men, and the rather because they had neither Shovels nor other Instruments proper for their business. In other places they put 'em upon spinning and other works of that kind, which they found would turn to account; and would sometimes keep Husbands and Wives from seeing one another a whole year together; and when they met after this long separation, they were often so fatigued, and consum'd with Hunger and Labor, that they were incapable of Multiplication. Sometimes the Children dy'd for want of Sustenance, their Mothers Milk being exhausted with hard Labor and Hunger; by this means there dy'd seven thousand Infants in the space of three months in the Isle of *Cuba*, of which I was an Eye-witness. Some of the Women transported with despair strangl'd their own Children; others that were with Child took poisonous Herbs to destroy their Fruit. Thus the Men dy'd with hardship in the Mines, and the Women in the Villages; so that the whole Country became desert in a little time, because the Women ceas'd to bring forth Children into the World.

This Governor deliver'd up all the *Indians* to the Discretion of the *Spaniards*, and suffer'd 'em to treat 'em with all the Rigor and Severity they pleas'd, and to oppress 'em with the hardest Labor they could.

could. They employ'd Men to chastise 'em that were more savage and barbarous than Tygers, these scourg'd and beat 'em most unmercifully, and gave them all the ill Treatment they could devise; they would never discover the least sign of Kindness or Pity, but always shew'd themselves austere and barbarously cruel. It would be very inhuman to treat the *Moors* themselves after this manner, tho they are so very cruel to the Christians, and do 'em all the mischief they can, when they have the Ascendent over 'em. But the *Indians* are naturally a good-humour'd, easy, peaceable, submissive, and tractable sort of People. Some of 'em have by the many Miseries they suffer'd, been driven to despair of any mitigation of 'em, and therefore fled into the Mountains, where they expected Death every moment. The *Spaniards* to hinder 'em from flying after this manner, appointed a bloody Fellow to make it his whole business to hunt out these *Indian* Refugees upon the Mountains. The Governor besides establish'd a sort of Officers in the *Spanish* Cities of great Consideration and Authority, whom he call'd Visitors; to each of these he gave a hundred *Indians* to serve him, besides his ordinary Domesticks, the better to support his Dignity. He chose such to this Office as had signaliz'd themselves by their Cruelty. When the *Alquazils* presented the *Indians* they found on the Mountains to these Visitors, there were Persons suborn'd and instructed to accuse 'em after this manner; *This Indian is a lazy Dog, that fled into the Mountains to avoid Work, therefore I desire he may be chastiz'd as he deserves.* After the giving of this Evidence, the Visitor us'd to cause the poor *Indian* to be tied to a Stake, and beat with a tarr'd Rope, which the Seamen call a Salt-Eel, and indeed is like a Rod of Iron, till the Blood would start out in I know not how many parts of his Body, and the

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poor Creature would lie for dead upon the place. God is witness of all the Cruelties these miserable Innocents have endur'd: 'Tis not possible to recount the hundredth part of what I have seen with my own Eyes. A man had need have a Body of Iron to undergo the Labor they endure in getting Gold out of the Mines. They must delve and search a thousand times over in the bowels of the Mountains, till they dig 'em down from top to bottom; they must work the very Rocks hollow. After this the Gold must be wash'd in some River, and the poor Creatures that do this work must be perpetually in the Water, which gradually alters and spoils the Constitution of their Bodies; and if the Mines happen to be full of Water, they are forc'd to empty 'em. That your Majesty may the better judg of the Labor and Toil they suffer in the Gold Mines, your Majesty may please to consider, that the Pagan Emperors accounted this the worst and most intolerable Punishment to inflict on the Martyrs, next to Death it self. The *Indians* are sometimes kept a whole year in these Mines: but since the *Spaniards* have observ'd, that it kill'd most of 'em to keep 'em there so long together, because their Bodies were incapable of sustaining the Fatigues of such a tedious and continual Labor, they resolv'd to make 'em work only for the space of five months successively, and then to give 'em a respite of forty days, wherein they employ'd 'em in melting Gold. But this pretended Rest did 'em no great good, for they were not much less incommoded during this time than before, being employ'd in other very troublesom kinds of Work. The *Indians* don't know what Holy-days are; for they work as hard and as long on those days as at other times. Nor have they a sufficiency of Bread allow'd 'em; and what they have is a very ordinary sort, that has

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not much strength in it, being made of Roots and Cassave; so that if they don't eat Flesh or Fish with it, it yields very little Nourishment. They likewise give 'em a sort of Pepper that grows in the Country, and looks much like a dry'd Grape. Those *Spaniards* that pretend to keep their Slaves extraordinary well, distribute a Porker every week among fifty *Indians*; but he that presides over 'em at the Mine keeps one-half of it for his share, and gives them the other, which is but every one a bit. Some of the *Spaniards* are so wretchedly covetous, that they send their Slaves into the Fields and Mountains to feed upon what Fruit they can find, and then oblige 'em to work two or three days without giving 'em any thing to eat. Your Majesty may easily imagine, that such kind of Food can't possibly sustain their weak and languishing Bodies, that are continually enfeebled and exhausted with hard Labor; or that these poor Creatures that are macerated with all manner of Hardship and Fatigue, without any rest, or relaxation of their Misery, can live long under the pressures of so cruel a Servitude.

The abovemention'd Governor at last order'd they should have Wages distributed among 'em, viz. that three * *Blancs* should be given each of 'em to spend every two days, as the Reward of the hard Labors they exacted of 'em. This was only to mock the poor Wretches, for this Money would scarce buy 'em the least Trifle. But for many years they had nothing at all given 'em, yet this does not disturb 'em so much as want of Victuals; for there is nothing in the world they so much desire as to eat well, insomuch that if they could but satisfy themselves with one good Meal, they would afterwards

* A Blanc is about the value of a Half-penny.

wards be content to die. This Governor depriv'd 'em of all the liberty they enjoy'd, and suffer'd the *Spaniards* to enslave 'em, and treat 'em as severely as they pleas'd; and indeed the ill usage they have met with is beyond what the Mind of man can imagine. They have not the liberty to dispose of any thing they have: The condition of Beasts is preferable to theirs, for these are at least sometimes turn'd loose to fill their Bellies with Grass in the fields, and have a little ease and liberty; whereas the poor *Indians* have scarce any time of rest allow'd 'em, but are constrain'd to do whatever the covetous *Spaniards* command 'em. They lead 'em to work like Beasts of Burden rather than Men. If at any time they give 'em leave to go home to take a little Repose, they neither find their Wives nor Children there, nor any thing to eat, and have no other relief than to lay themselves down and die. The incredible Fatigue they undergo wears 'em out the sooner, because they are naturally of a weak and tender Constitution; and when they are sick and faint, they are still made to work without any Compassion: nay, the *Spaniards* are so cruel as to beat and abuse 'em when they are just ready to die, calling 'em lazy Rascals, as if they refus'd to work, and feign'd themselves sick, merely out of Idleness. At last when they see their Illness increase to that degree, that they can expect no more Service of 'em, they send 'em home, giving 'em six or seven great Roots, almost like Turnips, with a small quantity of Cassave, to carry 'em a journey of fifty or sixty Leagues; so that they often miserably languish and die before they have proceeded far on their way: we often found a great many of 'em dead on the Roads, others we found ready to expire, and others by their Groans and Sighs gave us to understand their extreme Hunger. When the Governor had

not a sufficient number of Men for the Works in the Mines, he supplied the places of them that were releas'd by death, by casting Lots for others, which method was observ'd once a year.

When he enter'd into the Continent, he came like a sweeping Judgment of God, or as a Wolf among Sheep: He committed so many Robberies, Massacres and Cruelties, depopulated and destroy'd so many Towns and Cities, giving the *Spaniards* liberty to do what they pleas'd, that no History can parallel his Barbarity: He robb'd both the King of *Spain* and his Subjects, without being ever call'd to account for it; he left above forty Leagues of a very populous and fertile Country to the discretion or rather fury of his Soldiers: All that pleasant Tract of Ground from *Daria* where he landed to *Nicaragua* was reduc'd to the utmost Desolation; so that five or six Millions of Mony will not repair the Damage done there. This vile and cruel Man abandon'd the *Indians* to the Tyranny of the *Spaniards*, which was the source and original Cause of all the Persecutions under which those poor People have since groan'd, and of all the Devastations that *America* has suffer'd wherever the *Spaniards* have set their feet. This Contagion by degrees spread far and near; so that this General by letting loose his Soldiers after this licentious manner, has occasion'd the ruin of many millions of Men, and the desolation of divers great Kingdoms that were subjected to your Majesty's Dominion. If we say the *Spaniards* have destroy'd seven Kingdoms bigger than that of *Spain*, we can speak it with confidence, as knowing it to be true, and having known the time when they were fill'd with multitudes of People, tho now there are scarce any to be found, the *Spaniards* having extirpated the People of these large Kingdoms, and left the Walls

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and Houses of the Towns and Cities without Inhabitants.

Your Majesty has no fix'd and constant Revenue in the *Indies*; your Effects are like Leaves, which when once they fall from the Trees appear no more till a year after. That the *Spaniards* are possess'd of the absolute Government of the *Indies* is the true cause of this Disorder; for the number of the *Indians* every day decreasing, your Majesty's Revenues must necessarily receive a proportionable diminution.

The Kingdom of *Spain* is in great danger to be invaded by Foreign Nations, especially by the *Moors* and *Turks*, who perhaps may one day be in a condition to destroy it: For God is a just Judge, and cannot look upon the Villanies and Oppressions, the Robberies and Murders of the *Spaniards* in the *Indies*, without indignation. All the Nations of this new World, who were created (as well as others) after the likeness and image of God, and ransom'd by the precious Blood of Jesus Christ, have been unjustly and cruelly tormented and persecuted by 'em; they have made horrible slaughters among 'em to requite the many Kindnesses they heap'd on 'em with all imaginable Freedom and Civility. And that which still aggravates their Crimes the more, and must needs farther provoke the Divine Displeasure, is, that God had made choice of *Spain* to carry his blessed Gospel into the *Indies*, and to bring many populous Nations to the knowledge of himself; for which if they had fallen in with his Designs, he would, besides those eternal Rewards reserv'd for 'em, have given into their hands many good and fruitful Countries, abounding with Mines of Gold and Silver, Diamonds and other precious Stones and Pearls; in a word, with all sorts of temporal Blessings, beyond what any one can imagine, unless

such as have seen it with their own eyes. And 'tis to be remark'd that God usually observes this Rule in the execution of his Judgments, to proportionate his Penalties to the Crimes committed against him.

The Outrages and Cruelties these innocent People have felt are so horrid and notorious, that their Tears and Groans and Blood, the cry of which has reach'd the Throne of God, will undoubtedly draw down Vengeance on those that have offer'd all this violence to their Persons, and plunder'd 'em of their Estates. The Report of these Cruelties is spread through the whole World, and has been carried even to the most barbarous Nations, and has made 'em abhor the *Spaniards*, and conceive a mortal hatred against 'em: A hatred which extends to the Person of our King, as well as his Subjects, and is extremely prejudicial to the whole Nation in general.

None can be so ignorant as not to foresee what Mischiefs the Desolations in *America* are like to bring upon *Spain*; and succeeding Generations will be but too much convinc'd of the truth of this Prophecy: And if the King of *Spain* still suffers the *Spaniards* to domineer and tyrannize as they have hitherto done in the *Indies*, and makes not effectual provision by proper Edicts to stop the Course of the many Miseries the People of this New World undergo, those Countries will in a little time be totally depopulated. And God will undoubtedly make all *Spain* feel the Effects of his Wrath in punishing such Crimes as these; since the whole Scripture is full of Threatnings, and plain Instances of the Judgments of God on such as have been accessory to the Sins of others by permitting them.

Most Illustrious and Mighty Prince; The Royal Council for the *Indies*, animated with a sincere Zeal for the Glory of God, and your Majesty's Honour, desir'd me a few days ago to write to your Majesty

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all that I had told you *viva voce* before, and to explain to you what Right the Kings of *Spain* have to those Kingdoms in the *Indies*: and the rather because some who are uneasy to see the liberty your Majesty is pleas'd to give me in conversing with your Royal Person about these Affairs, to engage you to regulate those Disorders committed in *America*, have declar'd against my Sentiments with a great deal of heat and animosity. They say the Zeal with which I oppose the Violence and Injustice of the *Spaniards* (and these I'm resolv'd to oppose as long as it pleases God to continue my life) prompts men to call in question the Title the King of *Spain* pretends to have to the New World. However I have perform'd what the Council demanded of me, and drawn up thirty Propositions, without giving my self the trouble of proving them at large, partly because they are all certain and evident, and partly because I was much urg'd to dispatch the business, and to send them to your Majesty; which I have accomplish'd in the fear of God, and according to the dictates of my Conscience, with a strict regard to Truth.

Since the desire I have of being serviceable to God daily increases, I thought my self oblig'd to refute the Impostures and Calumnies of some ill-designing Persons, who wilfully shut their eyes against the Truth, because 'tis directly opposite to the Designs and Projects they have form'd. They flatter themselves, that under the false pretext of serving the Kings of *Spain*, who are ordinarily of a sweet and benign temper, and ready to judg of others by the good Sentiments they find in themselves; I say, they flatter themselves that they shall still be able to impose on 'em, and bear a sufficient sway in their minds to bring 'em into the snares they have laid for 'em. It was the complaint of *Abasuerus* in the History of

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Esther, that corrupt and vicious Subjects alter'd the good disposition of Princes, and betray'd 'em into Excesses, that occasion'd the ruin of whole Kingdoms and their Kings together. 'Tis for this reason, *Great Sir*, I have briefly drawn up these Propositions, to set this matter before you in a clear light. This I have done to discharge my own Conscience, and that I might the better answer the Obligations of that Ministry wherewith God has entrusted me. I find my self growing old, being advanc'd to the 50th year of my age; and the great acquaintance I have had with the Affairs of *America*, has furnish'd me with a very distinct knowledge of 'em; so that my circumstances render me in some respects more capable than others of giving proper Advice to those that are propos'd for the Government of *America*, that they may know how to put a period to its Miseries: for I have no other intention or desire in this matter, than that of suppressing the Injustice and Cruelty that has so long harass'd the Inhabitants of the New World.

They that endeavour to cross my good Design with the greatest warmth, and deck themselves with a false appearance of zeal and affection to your Majesty, tho at the bottom they have no regard either to truth or justice, take care to hide their Designs under the specious colour of promoting your Majesty's Service and Interest, and of establishing your Majesty's Right and Title to *America*, while indeed all they do is directly contrary to your Majesty's Service, whether in respect of Spirituals or Temporals. And I believe all intelligent Christians, that have a true zeal for their Religion, will be of this opinion, when I have made the Errors and Extravagancies of those that oppose my Sentiments appear; for these Gentlemen hand over head maintain that the Kings of *Spain* have a Right to found and establish themselves

selves a Title to the Government of *America* by force of Arms, after the same manner that *Nimrod*, who was the first mighty Hunter (as the Scripture expressly observes) and first began to tyrannize over Men, laid the foundation of his Dominion; or as *Alexander* the Great, and the antient Romans extended the bounds of their Empire; or just as the Turks to this day oppress the Christians, and invade their Territories. All the World may easily perceive that they who reason thus, are ignorant of the true Interest of the King of *Spain*, and shamefully violate all the Rules of Justice. To prove what they advance, they add new Errors to their first Extravagancies, till they shew by the wretched Maxims they expose, that they have neither Honor nor Christianity. For it often falls out, that while they who wander from the Tract of Truth and Virtue, go about to excuse the Errors they have made, they fall into other Mistakes that are still more gross and dangerous.

There are others of 'em who produce Titles that appear to be somewhat better founded, and alledg Arguments that seem more probable and honest. These say we may justly take possession of the *Indies*, and subdue the People, because we have a greater stock of Prudence and Wisdom than other Nations, and because our Country is nearer to the *Indies* than many others. But 'tis easy to see that none of these Reasons are concluding, having no solid Foundation to support 'em.

That your Majesty may the better comprehend the force of the Reasons that have been produc'd before you, and more easily distinguish what is agreeable to the Rules of Equity from what is contrary to 'em, and discern your faithful Servants from such as mind nothing but their own Interest, I shall come my self, and *viva voce* explain to your Majesty

Majesty the principal Points on which my Judgment is founded. In the mean time I send your Majesty an Abstract of my Propositions, which your Majesty may cause to be translated into Latin, if you think meet, that they may be printed both in the Latin and Spanish Tongues: or if your Majesty don't see good to make 'em publick, 'twill be no great matter.

I Proposition.

The Pope of *Rome* Canonically elected to be the Vicar of Jesus Christ, and the Successor of *St. Peter*, hath received his Authority and Power from Christ himself; and this Power extends over all Men, whether Believers or Infidels, in matters appertaining to Salvation, and the way of eternal Life. But it is to be observ'd, that he ought to exercise this Power toward Infidels, that never enter'd into the Church by Baptism, nor never heard of Jesus Christ and the Catholic Faith, in a different manner from what he does toward those that either are or have been Believers.

II Proposition.

St. Peter and his Successors contracted an indispensable Obligation, founded on the Divine Precept, to procure the publication of the Gospel, and the propagation of the Christian Faith in the whole World, that all Infidels may be brought to the knowledge of the true God, when there is any hope that they will not oppose the promulgation of the Faith, and the Doctrin of the Gospel.

III Proposition.

The Pope by the Authority of his Apostolic Ministry, may and ought to send capable Ministers from

from all the States of Christendom, to preach the Doctrine of Jesus Christ through the Universe: Nay, he may oblige 'em by virtue of his power to accept this Mission and Employ; and they on the other hand are oblig'd to undertake it, in obedience to the Pope, as to Jesus Christ.

IV Proposition.

Among all the Instruments that can be chosen for the publication of the Catholic Faith, and the Conversion of Infidels, Christian Princes are capable of contributing most to the carrying on of this Work; because their Authority, their Forces and temporal Riches are a great help to preserve and defend Ecclesiastical Ministers that may be sent, and to furnish 'em with proper means to attain the end propos'd.

V Proposition.

The Pope by the Authority which Jesus Christ has given him upon Earth, ought to exhort Christian Princes to contribute all their Assistance to remove the Obstructions that impede the publication of the Christian Faith; to employ their Mony in advancing this Work, and to send such of their Subjects as are capable of instructing Infidels. The Pope may moreover in some sort oblige all Christians in general, according to their ability, to bear the necessary Charges of those Missionaries in so pious a Work, as occasion may require.

VI Proposition.

No Christian Kings or Princes ought to engage in this Work without the participation of the Holy See, and of the Vicar of J. Christ. And if any Prince should think

think himself oblig'd, for the advantage of his Kingdom, to send Evangelic Ministers to instruct the Infidels, he ought to consult the Pope about it, who will use such means as he thinks most proper to advance this design.

VII *Proposition.*

To avoid confusion, the Vicar of Christ may distribute the Kingdoms and Provinces of the Infidels, of what Sect soever they be, among the Princes of Christendom; and may exhort 'em to be zealous for the propagation of the Faith, and vigorously to apply themselves to the work of enlarging the Universal Church, by the Conversion and Salvation of Souls, as the only end they ought to have in view.

VIII *Proposition.*

In making this division the Pope ought not to regard the increase of the Honors, Titles, Riches and Territories of Princes, but only to have respect to the Conversion of the Infidels; since this alone is the Intention of Christ in the trust he reposes in 'em, to take care of the Instruction of Souls, which is a difficult and careful Charge, and of which they will be one day oblig'd to render an account before the strict Tribunal of God. For this Employ respects the advantages of Infidels more than the particular Interest of Christian Princes.

IX *Proposition.*

Christian Princes ought to have no consideration for any thing but the Service of God, and the Advancement of the universal Church, when they apply their endeavors to propagate the Faith of Christ:

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In this affair they ought to have no temporal Advantage in their eye, but to look upon all earthly things as transitory and of small consequence: Yet it would not be just, if they can do any thing for the advantage of their Dominions, while they are procuring the Augmentation of the Kingdom of Christ, to oblige 'em to neglect so favourable an occasion, provided it be done without any considerable prejudice to the Infidels, or to the Princes that govern 'em.

X *Proposition.*

Those Infidels that live in Countries remote from Europe, and have never heard of Jesus Christ, or the Christian Religion, have their own lawful Kings and Princes, who are the natural Rulers of the particular Countries they govern, and have right to make Laws, and to establish all things necessary for the good Government of their respective Dominions; so that they can't be expell'd out of 'em, or depriv'd of what they possess, without doing violence to the Law of God as well as to the Law of Nations.

XI *Proposition.*

That Opinion which contradicts the Principle just now laid down, is erroneous and pernicious; and if any Persons set themselves obstinately to defend it, they'll become guilty of Heresie. For it opens a door to all Impieties and Villanies, to Robbery and Cruelty; in a word, to many irreparable Mischiefs, and hainous Sins which dishonor the name of Christ, hinder the progress of the Catholic Faith, and bring the greatest Miseries on Mankind in this life, together with the inevitable destruction of multitudes of Souls ransom'd by the Blood of Christ. So that this would be the way to stifle all the Sentiments of Piety, Humility, and Evangelic Meekness, nay of all Christian Virtues in general, to introduce Violence, Treache-

ry,

ry, Revenge, and other vices that are most contrary to the Maxims of the Gospel in their stead.

XII Proposition.

Infidel Princes ought not to be depriv'd of their States for their Idolatry, nor any other of those great Sins they commit; nor may their Subjects be depriv'd of their Estates or Honors for the like Crimes.

XIII Proposition.

Idolaters ought not to be punish'd for their Idolatry, or other Sins, how enormous and great soever, during the time of their Infidelity, before they have voluntarily receiv'd Baptism: There being no Tribunal or Judge in the world that has a right to molest 'em on that account, unless they directly oppose the publication of the Gospel, and after they have been admonish'd and warn'd of it, obstinately persist to obstruct it out of mere malice.

XIV Proposition.

Pope *Alexander VI.* under whose Popedom the *West-Indies* were discover'd, was indispensibly oblig'd by the Divine Law to chuse a Christian Prince, to whom he might commit the care of making provision for the preaching of the Gospel in this new World, for the advancement of the Universal Church, the Catholic Faith, the Worship of God, the Conversion and Salvation of the Inhabitants of *America*, and for all things necessary to attain this end.

XV Proposition.

King *Ferdinando* and *Isabella* his Queen had some special Advantages preferable to those of all other Catho-

Catholic Princes, to induce the Pope to chuse them rather than any other Potentates of *Europe*, to confer on 'em the Trust of publishing the Catholic Faith in the *Indies*, and, without any other reason, by the Authority which God has given him, to invest 'em with this Dignity, and constitute 'em the Ministers of the Apostles in the *Indies*. Among other Privileges peculiar to them, this is the principal, that they have taken a world of pains to rescue those Kingdoms which they inherited from their Ancestors out of the hands of Infidels and Mahometans, who are declar'd Enemies of the Catholic Faith. For this they expos'd their Royal Persons to imminent danger, when they attempted to enter again into the Kingdom of *Grenada*, to which they had a lawful Title, and which they at length reduc'd under the Yoke of Christ, and the Catholic Church. Another Reason to their advantage is, that they sent the famous *Christopher Columbus* to *America* at their own charge, and honor'd him with the Title of Chief Admiral of the *West-Indies*, when he had discover'd those rich and vast Countries.

XVI Proposition.

The Pope might well chuse them as the most proper Persons to establish Christianity in the new World, just as he made choice of the Emperor for his Son to be the Defender of the Catholic Faith. But if this Choice should in the issue become prejudicial to the establishment of the Faith, 'tis not to be doubted that the Pope might revoke it by the Authority he has receiv'd from God. And for the same reason he might forbid all other Christian Princes to send Missionaries into the *Indies* without the consent of the holy See, on pain of Excommunication. And whoever should act contrary

144 *Propositions concerning the Title*
trary to this Prohibition, would grievously offend
God.

XVII *Proposition.*

The Kings of *Castille* and *Leon* are the lawful Sovereigns of many Princes and Kings of the new World; therefore this universal Jurisdiction over the *Indies*, of which we have been speaking, belongs to them.

XVIII *Proposition.*

The Sovereign Empire which the Kings of *Spain* have over the *Indies*, obliges the natural Kings of those subjected Nations to submit to the Jurisdiction of the King of *Spain*.

XIX *Proposition.*

All the natural Kings and Princes, all the Nations, Cities and Communities of the *Indies*, over whom the Kings of *Spain* have acquir'd a lawful Right, ought to acknowledg them for their rightful Sovereigns in the manner we have said, since they have freely and voluntarily receiv'd the Catholic Faith and Baptism. But before they receiv'd it, or submitted to Christianity, and before the Kings of *Spain* had acquir'd any right over 'em, they depended on no Tribunal, nor Jurisdiction of any Judg in the World.

XX *Proposition.*

The Kings of *Spain* are oblig'd by the Law of God to chuse out and send into the *Indies* such Ministers as are capable of preaching the Gospel and the Catholic Faith, to exhort all the People of the new World to embrace the Doctrine of Christ,
and

of the Kings of Spain to America. 145
and to seek all just and necessary means to accomplish this Work.

XXI *Proposition.*

The Kings of *Spain* have the same Power and Jurisdiction over these Infidels before their Conversion, as the Pope has in quality of Christ's Vicar, because the charge and care of spreading the Light of the Gospel amongst these Idolaters, and of doing all that's possible for their Conversion, is committed to them.

XXII *Proposition.*

The manner of establishing the Christian Faith in the *Indies* ought to be conformable to that which our Saviour us'd to introduce his Religion into the World; that is, it ought to be a mild, peaceable, and charitable method. Humility, and the good Examples of a holy and regular way of living, are to be employ'd to gain upon all Infidels, especially the *Indians*, who are naturally of a sweet and easy Temper, and ready to submit to the Yoke of Christ. They ought moreover to be engag'd by Presents, and we should with alacrity give 'em a share of what we have, without regarding their Riches. By this means they would be easily perswaded, that the God whom the Christians worship, is good, just and gracious; they would more readily give ear to his Word, and would make no difficulty to forsake the Worship of their false Gods.

XXIII *Proposition.*

To go about to subdue the *Indians* by force of Arms, is a course utterly against the Law of God,
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who is full of Kindness, Grace and Love. 'Tis to follow the method which *Mahomet* and the *Romans* before him us'd to spoil and conquer the World: and the *Turks* and *Moors* to this day take the same course, but 'tis unjust, tyrannical, infamous, and unworthy of Christians: It would be the occasion of many blasphemous Reflections on the Name of Christ, and the Christian Religion, as we have been taught by sad Experience, since the *Spaniards* have exercis'd so many Cruelties on the *Indians*; for they believe that the God we worship is the most unjust, unmerciful and cruel of all Gods: Therefore the way of Violence and Severity would be an invincible Obstacle to the Conversion of the *Indians*.

XXIV Proposition.

'Tis to be expected that Infidels will always oppose such as attempt to invade their Country, in order to take possession of it by the Title of Conquest; so that to go about to subdue 'em as the proper way to convert 'em, is to lose time, and ruin so holy an Enterprize.

XXV Proposition.

From the time when *Christopher Columbus* discover'd the *Indies*, the Kings of *Spain* have always expressly forbidden their Subjects to make War upon the *Indians*: so that the *Spaniards* can shew no Authority or Permission that was ever given 'em by the King of *Spain* to commit any Act of Hostility in the new World: or if they can shew any such Commissions, they are forged, or have bin surreptitiously obtain'd by false Informations, invented to obtain a power of taking away the Riches of the *Indians*, or of making them Slaves with impunity.

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On the contrary, the Kings of *Spain* have often on this account renew'd their Orders to obviate the Cruelties and Outrages that were committed on the *Indians*.

XXVI Proposition.

Seeing the *Spaniards* have not been supported either by the Authority of their Prince, or any lawful reason to make War against the *Indians*, who liv'd peaceably in their own Country, and had done the *Spaniards* no wrong: All such Conquests that have been, or may hereafter be made in the *Indies* are to be accounted unjust, tyrannical, and null, being condemned by all the Laws of God and Men. For the proof of this Proposition one need only produce the Proceedings against these Tyrants, which are yet to be seen in the Archives of the Royal Council; or those Prosecutions that might still be made against 'em every moment. For both Heaven and Earth cry aloud against the Violence they have offer'd the poor *Americans*.

XXVII Proposition.

The Kings of *Spain* are by the Law of God oblig'd to establish so good a Government in the *Indies*, by causing those Indian Laws and Customs that are good to be observ'd, and by abolishing the bad, which are less numerous than the other, that nothing contrary to good Manners and the Rules of civil Policy may be tolerated. And the most likely way to succeed in such a design is to publish the Gospel among those People, by which means both the King's Interest and that of the *Indians* will be provided for effectually.

XXVIII Proposition.

The Devil could never have invented any thing more pernicious for the extirpation of the People of this New World, and the desolation of so many great and populous Kingdoms in a little time, than the distribution the *Spaniards* have made of these Nations among themselves, taking possession of the Inhabitants as their own Property, and then treating 'em as ravenous Wolves do a flock of Sheep: For this is the most barbarous kind of Tyranny that can be imagin'd, because it hinders all those Nations from embracing the Christian Religion: For the *Spaniards* employ 'em night and day in the Mines, and all other kinds of Labor; sometimes obliging 'em to carry heavy Burdens forty or fifty Leagues, so that their condition is worse than that of Beasts. Besides, they persecute those *Indians* with fresh Cruelty, who apply themselves to the Monks to be instructed in the Gospel, because they are afraid (if these Religious Men should be encouraged to come among the *Indians*) they would be witnesses of their Robberies and Cruelties.

XXIX Proposition.

The distribution which the *Spaniards* make of these People among themselves, as if they were so many head of Cattel, was never commanded nor allow'd by the Kings of *Spain* since the *Spaniards* enter'd the *Indies*. They never thought of authorizing so unjust and tyrannical a kind of Government, and which so much tends to the destruction of the People of the new World. Queen *Isabella* of immortal memory, under whose Reign the *Indies* were discover'd, gave express Orders to *Christopher Columbus*,

Columbus, who was the first Governor and chief Admiral of the *Indies*, and to *Francis Bobadilla*, who succeeded him, and also to General *De Larés*, who came after both the former, to preserve Peace and Liberty among the *Indians*, and to do 'em Justice in every thing. Admiral *Columbus* gave only three hundred *Indians* to such of the *Spaniards* as had done great Service to the Crown; and for his own part, contented himself with having only one *Indian* to serve him: The Court of *Spain* was then at *Grenada*, where the Queen issued out an Order that these three hundred *Indians* should be releas'd and sent home, only she permitted *Columbus* to keep one *Indian* whom he had taken for his Service. What then would this great Queen now say, to see how the *Spaniards* have enslav'd the People of *America*? The continual Avocations the King has had, and the frequent Journys he has been oblig'd to make into *Italy*, having not permitted him to inform himself exactly of the Miseries those People endure from the hands of the *Spaniards*.

XXX Proposition.

From all that has been said it may well be concluded, that if the sovereign Jurisdiction of the *Indies* belongs only to the Kings of *Spain*, the Conquests that private Men appropriate to themselves are unjust and tyrannical; that the shares they have made among themselves are founded upon no lawful right: and that those who usurp the Lands of the new World, without the Consent and Authority of their Prince, are absolute Tyrants, in acting (as they do) directly contrary to his Orders, and the Regulations of the Royal Council; which is a matter so public and notorious, that there's no *Spaniard* in the *Indies* can justly excuse himself by pretending ignorance.

A Dispute between Don Bartholomew de Las-Casas, Bishop of Chiapa, and Dr. Sepulveda.

DR. *Sepulveda*, at the instigation of some *Spaniards* who had committed great Ravages in the *Indies*, wrote a very elegant Book in Latin in the form of Dialogues, which contain'd principally two Conclusions, namely, that the Wars of the *Spaniards* in the *Indies* were very just, and that they might lawfully subjugate the People of this new World; and that the *Indians* were oblig'd to submit to the *Spaniards*, and acquiesce in their Government, because these are more wise and prudent than the others. And in case they refuse to submit, this Doctor asserts, that they may be constrain'd to it by force of Arms. These are the two Points that have occasion'd the ruin of incredible numbers of *Indians*; so that the Country is almost entirely unpeopled for the space of two thousand Leagues, where the *Spaniards* have left the marks of their boundless Cruelty. This Doctor, to give some color and shew of Truth to his Reasons, declar'd that he had no other design in writing than that of justifying the King of *Spain's* Title to the *Indies*. He presented his Book to the Royal Council, and was very importunate to obtain leave to print it, which was several times refus'd; after which he applied himself to some of his Friends, who were in the Emperor's Court, to patronize this Work. The Bishop of *Chiapa* being well inform'd of the steps this Doctor made, with all his might oppos'd the Impression of his Book, plainly demonstrating what ill Consequences the publication of it might produce. The Members of the King's Council perceiving

ceiving this matter was purely Theological, resolv'd to dismiss it to the Universities of *Salamanca* and *Alcala*, desiring them to make a thorow Examination of this Treatise, to see if it contain'd any thing that might justly obstruct the printing of it. These two Universities after they had accurately examin'd it, declar'd that it was not fit to be printed, as containing unsound Doctrine. The Doctor now despairing of seeing his Book obtain in *Spain*, sent it to *Rome*, earnestly recommending it to the Bishop of *Segovia*, who was one of his particular Friends. When it was printed, it was prohibited by the Emperor's express Order, who caus'd the Copies to be seiz'd, forbidding any of 'em to be sold in *Spain*: but because it was impossible to prevent divers Copies in the vulgar Language from being spread among the People; the Bishop of *Chiapa* thought himself oblig'd to refute this Book in defence of the *Indians*, and to let all the world know how scandalous Doctrine it contain'd, being accommodated to open a door to all manner of Disorders. Dr. *Sepulveda* was cited to give an account of his thoughts on this Subject by word of mouth, and the Bishop of *Chiapa* was engag'd to answer him: The Dispute lasted five whole days, after which *Dominic de Soto*, a great Divine, and Confessor to his Majesty, was desir'd to give a summary account of this Dispute, which he did before the Assembly in these terms.

Most illustrious, most Magnificent, and most Reverend Lords and Fathers.

YOU have bin pleas'd to order me to give a succinct and summary account of the Dispute maintain'd between the famous Dr. *Sepulveda*, and the Bishop of *Chiapa*, without adding any thing of my own, or troubling my self to seek other Reasons

to support the Sentiments of either of 'em. The Point about which you desire to be inform'd, is in general what method ought to be us'd for the publication of the Catholic Faith in the new World, which has bin lately discover'd by the permission of God, and how the Emperor may subject those Nations to his Government without offending his Conscience, in conforming himself entirely to the Bull of Pope *Alexander*. 'Tis first necessary to enquire whether the Emperor may justly make War with the *Indians* before the Faith of the Gospel be preach'd to 'em; and whether these People will be in any condition to receive the Light of the Gospel, after they have bin subdu'd by force of Arms; whether they will be more tractable and docil, and better dispos'd to receive the Impressions design'd to be given, so as to reject their Errors, and embrace the Doctrine of the Gospel. Dr. *Sepulveda* maintains, that this War is not only allowable and lawful, but necessary. The Bishop of *Chiapa* is of the contrary Opinion, and pretends that this War is unjust, and an invincible Obstacle to the propagation of the Faith in the *Indies*.

Sepulveda supports his Opinion by four principal Arguments: The first is founded on the enormous Crimes of which the *Indians* have bin, and are every day guilty, especially their Idolatry, and their Sins against Nature. His second Reason is taken from their Barbarity and Ignorance, which may be reform'd under the Government of a People so intelligent and polite as the *Spaniards*. His third Reason respects the facility he supposes of publishing the Christian Faith to the *Indians* when they are once subdu'd. His fourth Argument is taken from the cruel Treatment the *Indians* give one another, in that they offer human Sacrifices to their false Gods. He confirms his first Reason three ways: 1st. By Examples

Examples and Authorities taken out of the holy Scripture. 2^{dly}. By the Suffrage of Doctors and Canonists. 3^{dly}. By a particular account of the gross Crimes which the *Indians* commit. He cites a Passage out of *Deut. 20.* to explain after what manner War ought to be made on the *Indians*; the words are these: *When thou comest nigh unto a City to fight against it, then proclaim Peace unto it. And it shall be, if it make thee answer of Peace, and open unto thee, then it shall be that all the People that is found therein, shall be Tributaries unto thee, and they shall serve thee. And if it will make no Peace with thee, but will make War against thee, then thou shalt besiege it: And when the LORD thy God hath deliver'd it into thy hands, thou shalt smite every Male thereof with the Edg of the Sword: ver. 10, 11, 12, 13. and ver. 16. But of the Cities of these People which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an Inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth.* The Doctor adds, that this Passage is not to be strictly taken, and enforc'd against the *Indians* with so much severity: tho 'tis also said, *Thus shalt thou do unto all the Cities that are very far from thee*; by which Passage the Gloss understands those of different Religions. From hence he concludes, that we may lawfully declare War against those Nations that are of a Religion different from ours.

My Lord Bishop answers him four ways. First, he says, it was not to punish the Sin of Idolatry, that God commanded the *Israelites* to make War with the Gentiles and Infidels: That God was pleas'd to single out precisely seven Nations, the *Canaanites*, the *Jebusites*, &c. mentioned in *Deut. 7.* who possess'd the Land of Promise bequeathed to *Abraham* and his Posterity. He allows it to be true, that God design'd to punish the Idolatry of those Heathen Nations, in giving 'em up to the *Israelites*; but he says if

if God's intention had bin only to chastise 'em for their Idolatry, he would also have punish'd all the Nations of the whole World after the same manner, seeing they were all polluted with the same Sin. Whereas God specified only these Nations to be abandon'd to the Sword of the *Israelites*, to shew that it was rather to accomplish the Promise he had made to *Abraham*, than to punish these Idolaters that he deliver'd 'em into the hands of their Enemies. That God himself expressly forbad the *Israelites* to offer any Violence to the *Edomites*, or to the *Egyptians* who had entertain'd 'em when they were strangers in their Country.

Secondly, That the Passage of *Luke* 14. where it is said, *Compel them to come in*, is not to be understood of an external Constraint by War and Arms, but ought to be interpreted of internal Inspiration, and the Motions which God produces in the Hearts of Men, either immediatly, or by the Ministrations of Angels.

In the third place the Bishop maintains, that Christian Emperors have never engag'd in War with Heathen Nations to oblige 'em to renounce Idolatry, and to induce 'em to imbrace the Christian Faith; that the Wars of *Constantine* were purely on a politic account, and that the Passage of the Ecclesiastical Historian, *lib. 10. cap. 6.* is to be understood in that sense. That this Prince who was so animated with Piety, when he subdued by his Arms the *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, and other barbarous Nations, excepted those that sought his Friendship, and desir'd Peace. That because he subjected himself to the Divine Commands, God was pleas'd to recompense his Virtue in subjecting all the People of the World to his Dominion. Besides, he says, *Constantine* made War with the *Goths* and *Sarmatians*, because they made incredible Ravage and Spoil wherever they came.

came. But when these barbarous People were at peace with the Christians, and offer'd 'em no Injury, they were suffer'd to live at quiet.

He adds in the 4th place, That if we would do any good upon Pagans, it must be by the power of good Examples, and not by Violence. He cites to this purpose a passage of *St. Augustin*, who says it belongs only to men transported with Rage, and to Assassins to use force against those that are inferior to 'em in Power: that this Father also condemn'd such as were not able to do the Pagans any hurt, and yet rashly offer'd themselves to death, to gain the reputation of Martyrs. He also quotes a Passage out of *Deut. 7. When the Lord thy God shall bring thee into the Land whither thou goest to possess it, &c. ver. 1. Ye shall destroy their Altars, and break down their Images, and cut down their Groves, and burn their graven Images with Fire, ver. 5.* Upon which Passage he says *St. Augustin* expresses himself after this manner: Many of the Pagans have Idols in their Fields, must we take upon us to break these Idols in pieces? 'Tis much better to endeavour to get 'em out of their Hearts. When they have embrac'd Christianity, and exhort us themselves to break these Idols, we shall do it with pleasure. We must in the mean time pray for their Conversion, without appearing violent and passionate against 'em because of their Idolatry: We are not ignorant where they hide their Idols, and yet we let 'em alone, because God has not given us a Commission to take 'em away without their leave. When then does God give us leave to take 'em from them? Not till the owners of these Idols are become Christians.

He farther produces the examples of the Apostles and Martyrs, who took no other course to overthrow Idols but by their Doctrine. He grants that indeed on some accounts War may be made with Infidels; for

for instance, if they have violently usurp'd the Lands of Christians; as they have the *Holy-Land*; if they profane our Churches, break down our Images, and offer any great outrages to Christians, in hatred and contempt of their Faith: That when the Emperor *Constantine* forbade the Heathens to keep their Idols, it was for fear the Christians should be scandaliz'd by 'em.

He says, If God severely punish'd the Crimes of the *Sodomites*, it does not therefore follow that we may take upon us to punish all Infidels for their unnatural Pollutions: That we are to admire the Judgments of God, but not always to imitate every thing he does. He says, we may punish Infidels if they blaspheme the Holy Name of God, or dishonour the Saints and the Church; if they openly hinder the publication of the Faith, and if they massacre those that preach it: but that it is not lawful to declare War against 'em merely on the account of their Idolatry, their unnatural Sins, or any other Crimes they commit among themselves.

And whereas Dr. *Sepulveda* says, The Indians are a barbarous People, and born for Slavery: the Bishop of *Chiapa* answers this Objection, in saying, That we ought not to make War upon Infidels to bring 'em to the true Religion, which is only to be demonstrated by genuine Reasons, that the understanding may be captivated according to the words of St. *Paul*, That it must be a pious Affection to the Christian Faith that will dispose men to embrace it; and that care ought to be taken that they may have no aversion against those that preach it; who therefore ought by their good Examples to engage the *Indians* to relish the Doctrine they endeavour to propagate among 'em: That War is visibly contrary to this end, because it fills the minds of those Idolaters with horror and indignation against the Christians,

tians, for bringing so many Miseries upon 'em; and that they cannot chuse but think the Law of Christ an execrable Doctrine, since it authorizes (as they imagin) such terrible Disorders. The Bishop concludes in saying, 'tis a mere delusion to assert, that the Wars made against these Infidels are not design'd to introduce Christianity among 'em by open force, but only to subjugate those barbarous Nations the better to dispose 'em to receive the Faith of Christ voluntarily. He pretends that this is ill reasoning, because War spreads so much terror among those People, that if they afterwards embrace the true Faith, 'tis to be suppos'd they do it rather out of fear than love: and that their Neighbours when they hear what Violence, Spoil, and Massacres have attended this War, may probably, to avoid the like Mischiefs, blindly embrace the Faith, without knowing what they do themselves.

Dr. *Sepulveda* urges for another reason of War, that the *Indians* massacre innocent Persons, either to sacrifice, or to eat 'em. To which Argument the Bishop returns this answer, That if the Church exhorts us to undertake the defence of Innocents, it ought not in this case to be by the way of Arms. First, because of two Evils we ought to chuse the least. If the *Indians* massacre some innocent Persons to eat 'em, 'tis indeed a great Evil; but War would bring much greater slaughters with it: besides, that these Wars dishonour our Religion, and render the Christians odious to the Infidels; who tho' they sacrifice men, are not altogether inexcusable, because of their great Ignorance, and have reason not to put themselves into the hands of the *Spanish* Soldiers, who come with their Swords in their hands to rob and kill 'em, instead of instructing 'em in Religion; whereas they have no right to punish 'em for their Errors: That *Plutarch* says, when the *Romans* subdued

subdued divers barbarous Nations, who were wont to offer men in Sacrifice, they did not punish 'em for that Crime, but only forbad 'em to do the like for the future. That it is not to be expected of the *Indians*, that they should renounce their Errors in a moment; that the light of Nature which informs 'em there is a God, teaches 'em to shew him respect, and to return him thanks for the Benefits they receive of him, and likewise to endeavour to make atonement for the Sins they commit against his Divine Majesty; and that they ought to devote the best they have to him in Sacrifice: Consequently their evil Custom of sacrificing human Creatures to the suppos'd Deities they worship, is the less to be wonder'd at, since they have no knowledge of Divine Revelation, but only the glimmerings of natural Light to direct 'em; which Light too is obscur'd with much thick darkness in the minds of Pagans. That these People believe they perform a very acceptable Service to God, when they offer him the Lives of Men; that this may be confirmed in some sort by the Testimony of Holy Writ, seeing God, when he would try the faithfulness of *Abraham*, commanded him to sacrifice his only Son, whom he tenderly lov'd; which God might do, as he is the absolute Master of the Lives of Men: that besides this Instance, the Scripture testifies that God requir'd the *Israelites* to redeem their own Lives by the sacrifice of Animals. That the Word of God remarks, that 'tis impossible to give a greater Testimony of Love, than to offer ones self for the Person belov'd: that those Women in the *Indies* that were most dear to their Husbands while they lived, chose to be buried alive with 'em, to give the greater proof of their conjugal Fidelity and Affection.

In answer to the other Argument alledg'd by Dr. *Sepulveda*, namely, that the barbarity of the *Indians* which

which (he says) shews they were born for Slavery, is a sufficient reason to declare War against 'em, in order to subject 'em to the Government of the *Europeans*: the Bishop of *Chiapa* says, there are three different sorts of *Barbarians*. First, that this Term is taken in general to signify any Nation that differs from others by some strange Opinion, or peculiar Customs, tho they want not Prudence or Policy to conduct their Affairs. That the second kind of *Barbarians* is of those, who have no Language proper by which to express themselves to other People; such as the English formerly were, when they had no Letters or Characters whereby to explain their Thoughts. The third sort of *Barbarians* are such as resemble savage Beasts, by the dulness and stupidity of their Minds, by their brutish Inclinations, and by the extravagance of their Customs; who wander up and down in the Fields, never dwelling together in Towns or Cities; who are without Laws or Civil Government, and take no care to observe the Law of Nations; who rove about to commit Robberies, and use Violence on all that have not power enough to resist 'em; such as the *Goths* and *Alans* were formerly, and such as the *Arabs* in *Asia* are to this day: That 'tis as lawful to make War with this sort of People, as to hunt wild Beasts, and would be a great piece of service to the World to reduce 'em to any tolerable Disciplin. But as for the *Indians*, that tho they have some extravagant Customs, but not any good Policy, yet they ought not to be look'd upon as properly *Barbarians*; seeing they are of a quite contrary disposition, being meek, civil, and tractable in their Manners; that they are a numerous People, who have Cities and Laws, and understand divers Arts; that they have Princes over 'em, and live under a kind of regulated Government; that they not only punish Sins against Nature, but have

have Laws that award capital Punishments for some Crimes of lesser consequence: That their Policy has its particular Rules; that upon all these Accounts their pretended Barbarity is not a sufficient Reason for any to declare War against 'em, but would be a piece of visible Tyranny and Injustice; and that this Course would be so far from promoting the Gospel, that 'twould be the very way to cut off all hope of establishing Christianity among them. That therefore the best expedient would be to send Preachers into the *Indies*, to endeavour to convince some of the principal *Indians* of the truth of our Religion; and to make Treaties of Peace with 'em, to favour the entrance of the *Europeans* into the *Indies* by such a gentle and peaceable Method as this: that if any danger should arise after this, we might build some Forts upon the Frontiers, and so treat with 'em with the greater Security, and make 'em gradually relish our Religion, by setting 'em good Examples.

The Royal Council for the *Indies* having heard this Dispute, between the Bishop of *Chiapa* and Dr. *Sepulveda*, concerning the manner in which the *Indians* ought to be treated, order'd the Bishop to draw up his Thoughts of this matter in Writing, whereby they should be the better able to determin this question, Whether they might lawfully inflave the *Indians*, or were oblig'd to set at liberty all they had hitherto reduc'd to slavery. In answer to their desire, the Bishop farther explain'd his Sentiments after the following manner.

All the *Indians* taken in the *Indies* since the discovery of the New World to this day, have bin unjustly inflav'd; and the *Spaniards* who retain 'em in bondage against their wills, can't do it with a good

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Conscience, because they had no right to declare War against 'em; for it follows by consequence they could not lawfully deprive 'em of their Liberty, nor were they ever authoriz'd by their Prince to make War upon 'em. Now there are but two Motives that can render any War just, namely, some righteous Cause, or the Authority of one's Prince. And what just motive then could the *Spaniards* have to declare War against the *Indians*, who never did 'em any wrong, nor ever gave 'em any disturbance? They were people they had never seen; they had never made any descent into any Country that belong'd to the *Spaniards*, to spoil and ravage it; they had never profess'd Christianity as the *Moors* of *Africa* had done, who were Christians in the time of St. *Augustin*; or as the Kingdom of *Grenada*, the Empire of *Constantinople*, and the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* did formerly. Nor can we justly reproach the *Indians* as declar'd enemies to our Religion, or that they ever attempted to destroy it by open Persecutions, or secret Perswasions, by Presents, or any other manner whatsoever, that can be used to engage Christians to renounce their Faith, and turn Idolaters: For neither the Law of God, nor that of Nations ever permitted War to be made against any People merely to establish Christianity among 'em. Unless any one will pretend that the Gospel of Christ, which abounds with Charity, Meekness, and Humanity, ought to be introduc'd into the World by Force like the Religion of *Mahomet*.

The *Spaniards* can't say, that they had no other end than that of protecting the Innocent, seeing they have made it their whole business to rob, pillage, and murder the poor *Indians*, taking upon 'em to usurp their Goods and Lands. Besides, if the War they undertook had bin in defence of those poor Wretches the *Indians* unjustly put to death for Sacrifices,

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crifices, it would not have bin carried so generally thro' the *Indies*, but would have bin a sort of Civil War kept up only in some particular Places: Nor would the *Spaniards* have had right even in such Places, to have made Slaves of those whom they took in such a War.

They can't so much as pretend that ever they had a Command or Order to this day from their Prince, to declare War against the *Indians*: 'Tis easy to evidence such a Fact as this; for the Governors and Generals have nothing to do but to shew their Commissions if they have any. There's not one of 'em who has any fear of God, or respect for his Prince, that will pretend to shew any such Commission, except the Vice-Roy *Don Antonio*, and *Don Sebastian Ramire* Bishop of *Cuenza*; all the rest that have made War on the *Indians*, are Thieves, and Robbers, Murderers, and declar'd Enemies of Mankind. Seeing then the *Spaniards* have had no lawful reason to support their Declarations of War against the People of *America*, nor have bin authoriz'd in such Proceedings by their Prince, it evidently follows that the War they have made is unjust, and contrary to the Laws of God and Men, and consequently that the *Indians* ought not to have bin treated as Slaves.

All the ways the *Spaniards* have us'd to compass this end of inflaving these People, have bin monstrously wicked, made up of nothing but Fraud and Treachery, unlawful Tricks and Artifices, and such unheard of Villanies as can't but fill the Minds of all that hear 'em with astonishment and horror. Some to insnare the poor *Indians* that liv'd among 'em, have constrain'd 'em to own themselves their Slaves in Courts of Justice: after which extorted Confession, the Governors have order'd the King's Arms to be fix'd upon their Skin with a hot Iron; tho they were not ignorant what an unlawful Course had been taken

taken to abuse these poor Creatures. Others hir'd the *Indians* with a little Wine, or a Shirt, or by giving 'em some other trifle of small value, to bring 'em fatherless and motherless Children, whom they put on Shipboard, and transported into other Countries, where they were sold for Slaves, especially into *New-Spain*, the Islands of *St. John*, and *Cuba*, or other neighbouring Islands. But at first the *Spaniards* us'd open Violence, attacking the *Indians* that liv'd peaceably in their Houses, setting their Towns on fire, massacring some, and after the exercise of all this Cruelty, carrying away those they could take alive to sell 'em for Slaves. They us'd without any formal process, to brand 'em with the King's Arms, which was enough to make 'em pass for Slaves; and accordingly they were sold from one hand to another, till they were transported into the Islands. These were all the forms of Justice the *Spaniards* observ'd in carrying away the *Indians* from the Continent into the Islands of *New-Spain*, the Isles of *Cuba* and *St. John*, the Coast of *Pearls*, *Yucatan* and *Panuco*. And by these execrable Artifices they have since carried away vast multitudes of People of every Age, Sex, and Condition, from the Kingdoms of *Vencuela*, *Guatimala*, and *Nicaragua*, to sell 'em in *Panama*, and in *Peru*. They once put 4 or 500 of 'em in one Ship, the greatest part of whom died in their passage for want of Food, the Allowance given 'em being so very small.

At a Town consisting of about 200 people, the *Spaniards* would require the *Cacyque* to send 'em 300 *Indians* at such a certain day and hour, to carry their Provisions, and work for 'em. The poor *Cacyque* was mightily concern'd he could not execute this Order, not having People enough in the whole Town; and not knowing what to do in the case, desired to have a day or two more allow'd him:

But these Brutes would interpret this delay as an express breach of their Orders; and immediately asking leave of the Governor to go and fall upon 'em, would attack 'em in their houses, cutting the throats of many of 'em in a barbarous manner, and carrying away the rest as Prisoners of War, whom they inflav'd contrary to all Law and Equity. Sometimes they would order a *Cacique* to send 'em half a hundred men to labour for 'em, and would set 'em to what work they thought good, after which they would embark 'em in Ships and carry 'em away; and sometimes would mark 'em with the Letters of their own Names without fixing the King's Arms on 'em. When they were angry with 'em, they would load 'em with Chains, and make 'em carry heavy Burdens beside, for 100 or 200 Leagues. After they had us'd 'em in what Drudgery they pleas'd, they would sell 'em, tho the *Indians* are as freeborn as any other Nation. By this means the *Spaniards* have unpeopled the Province of *St. Michael*, which is situate between *Guatemala* and *Nicaragua*.

When they formerly advanc'd far into the Country to make further Discoveries of the *Indians* that liv'd there, these good-natur'd People came to meet 'em loaded with Turkeys, and other Provisions, which they freely offer'd 'em, but for their kindness were either hew'd in pieces, or else made Slaves, on pretence they were found in Arms in the Fields. Nor could the Governors be ignorant of these Violences and Disorders of the Soldiers, since themselves had the best share of the Spoil.

When they had divided those Countries among themselves, which they had so unjustly usurp'd, and render'd themselves the absolute Masters of the *Indians*, as if they had conquer'd 'em in a just and lawful War, they oblig'd the *Caciques* and natural Princes of those People to bring 'em such a Sum of Gold

Gold as they were pleas'd to command 'em. If they had not such a quantity, they told the *Spaniards*, they would willingly give 'em all they had to appease 'em; but receiv'd a severe reply from these cruel Men in such terms as these: *If you don't bring us all the Gold we demand within such a time, we'll set fire to all your houses.* The poor *Caciques* would sometimes make such a return as this in a lamentable Tone: *Indeed our Country has no great store of Gold in it; and besides, we have not bin curious to search for Mines.* Upon such an Account as this the *Spaniards* have fasten'd 200 Stakes at a time in the ground, and tied the poor Wretches to 'em with terrible Menaces, and then let loose those ravenous Dogs upon 'em, that us'd to be fed with human flesh. It may be the *Cacique* would be so terrified with such a horrible Spectacle as this, that he'd go among his Subjects, and take Children out of every Family, and give 'em to the *Spaniards* for Slaves to pacify 'em. If there were but 2 Children in a house, one of 'em was taken away, and that must be the strongest and likeliest to do service. When the *Cacique* had got together such a number of his People as the *Spaniards* requir'd, he would come to present 'em to them himself. And it was a most lamentable thing to hear the Sighs and Crys of Parents, when their dearest Children were ravish'd from 'em, to be transported into remote Countrys for Slaves. When these Children were brought to the Governor to be brand-ed, the *Spaniards* would order the *Caciques* to engage the *Indians* to testify that they were Slaves, and the Children of Slaves, and that they were bought in the Market; and would threaten to burn 'em, unless they would stand to such Lies as these. And when the Person appointed to examine them, who was well acquainted with all these Tricks, would ask the Children of what Country they were; they made

made 'em answer, that they were Slaves, and that their Parents were so, and that they were bought in such a Market. After this Examination they were mark'd with the King's Stamp. His Majesty's Governors and Officers are very well acquainted with all this Roguery of the Soldiers, and have had too great a hand in the invention of these Artifices, as appears by their having the largest share of the Booty.

When the Missionary Monks had got a great number of *Indians* together in their Church to instruct 'em in the knowledge of the true God, the *Spaniards* would suddenly come upon 'em with their Swords in their hands, and take what number of 'em they thought meet; which could not but much scandalize the rest, and extremely griev'd the Missionaries, who were only told by the *Spaniards*, that they wanted Men to carry their Baggage and Provisions, and so were forc'd to take all patiently. When they had thus seiz'd the poor *Indians*, they set their mark upon 'em, and sold 'em for Slaves.

The Governors at first seldom refus'd any that ask'd leave to plunder the *Indians*, and ruin and depopulate the Country. This was a kind of recompense they gave 'em for the great Services they had render'd the King of *Spain*. But afterwards they took a Course that did not seem so dishonest and cruel, but was equally pernicious to the People of the New World, which was to buy Slaves of the *Caciques*, threatening 'em to burn 'em alive if they did not furnish 'em with such a number as they demanded, for which they would only give 'em a Shirt or some such Trifle; so that the poor *Caciques* became themselves the ruin of their own Country for fear of being burnt, and made it their business to go among their Subjects to gather great numbers of Slaves together, to satisfy the Avarice of the *Spaniards*.

niards. At last they would make the *Caciques* pay 'em this tribute with other People; so that they were constrain'd to go to some of the neighbouring *Caciques*, and would make their Complaint to 'em after this manner: *These Tyrants threaten me (would one say) to cut my throat if I don't furnish 'em with such a number of Indians for Slaves, and they won't suffer me to abuse out some of my own Subjects for 'em; therefore I desire the liberty to take some of yours, and you shall have as many of mine for 'em. I am content (would the other say) and the rather because I myself am oblig'd to pay such a Tribute as you are, and to seek for Slaves out of my own Country to satisfy the Spaniards.* The *Caciques* themselves were wont to bring these poor Slaves to be mark'd, and were made to swear they were none of their Subjects, but that they had taken 'em among their Neighbors; which was true, but the *Spaniards* were never the less guilty in constraining 'em so to do. The Governors that knew their injustice and roguery, wink'd at it, and would never accuse any of 'em of these prevarications before the Judges of the Royal Council; for they made it no part of their care to perform their Duty to God and the King faithfully; nor did they seem to be touch'd with the least Compassion in observing all the violence committed against those miserable People.

I could produce a multitude of proofs to confirm what I say, but one shall suffice at present. There came an Order from the King to the Governor of the Province of *Nicaragua*, to forbid him to enslave any *Indians*, or to brand him with the King's Arms: at the same time there was a Ship in the Road that was design'd to be fill'd with Slaves; which made the Governor forbear to publish the Order he had receiv'd, till the Vessel was laden with *Indians*, and ready to set sail; nay he privately

gave notice to those that were concern'd in the Ship, to make what haste they could, and carry away as many Slaves as they needed, because the King had sent an express Prohibition to hinder any from being enslav'd for the future.

It was once matter of Astonishment to see the fruitfulness, plenty and multitude of Inhabitants, that fill'd the Province of *Honduras*; and 'tis now as deplorable to behold the Misery, Desolation, and want of People there, which resemble it to a melancholy Wilderness. The Governor of this Province made use of a trick not much unlike that of which we have been speaking. He ow'd a great Sum of Money to some Merchants for Wine and other Commodities he had bought of 'em; who had their Vessels in the Port, and expected this Governor to pay 'em in Slaves. But the Emperor's Order forbidding him to make any Slaves in this Province being very strict, he durst not take up *Indians* publicly to pay his debts, for fear of provoking the Emperor by acting directly against his Command: He therefore sent out two of his Captains, one to the Sea-Coast, and the other farther up into the Continent, with Orders to take up such *Indians* as were likely to make the least noise and disturbance by their Complaints; these he order'd to be embark'd, and to prevent to himself any danger from the Court, he pretended these *Indians* were seditious Persons and Malefactors, whom he was oblig'd to banish, because it would have been of ill consequence to have let 'em remain in their Country: This was the Pretext under which he sold 'em for Slaves to pay his Debts. And with this sort of Coin the *Spaniards* us'd to buy all sorts of Commodities that came from *Europe*, and whatever else they thought necessary. So that 'tis no wonder that those fine and rich Provinces are become forlorn Deserts, since this Trade of buying and selling
Slaves

Slaves has been allow'd, which was first practis'd in *Hispaniola*. Sometimes the *Spaniards* to deceive the *Indians* would persuade 'em they should go with them into *Spain*, when they design'd only to carry 'em to the Isle of *Cuba*, and sell 'em there. And there are many still at *Havana*, that were taken after this manner; for when other *Spaniards* heard of the Stratagems their Countrymen us'd to impose on the poor *Indians*, they would use the same Tricks, and brag of 'em instead of being asham'd; so that the World has been sufficiently inform'd of these Artifices. The Miseries and Desolations of the Provinces of *Nicaragua* and *Guatemala*, of the greatest part of *Mexico*, *Tabasco*, and *Panuco*, are incontestible Proofs of the Cruelties and other Crimes of the *Spaniards*. The Archbishop of *Mexico* wrote an Account of 'em by way of complaint to the Royal Council for the *Indies*, wherein he inform'd 'em that the Governor had loaded twenty eight Ships with Slaves. The Governor of the Province of *Xalisco* took for his own Share 4560 Slaves, Men, Women and Children, some of whom were but one, others two or three years old; all was fish that came to net; besides an infinit number that other *Spaniards* took in this Province, against the King's express Orders, who was much displeas'd that those People should be enslav'd, who ought to have bin instructed in the knowledg of the true God, and of the Christian Religion, in order to their Salvation. Those Flemish Merchants that got possession of the Kingdom of *Venuela*, to pillage and destroy it, made horrible Spoil there for the space of twenty years. That all I say is the very Truth, may better appear by consulting the Archives of the Royal Council, which are full of complaints against the insidious Contrivances of the *Spaniards*, and the great Violences they have committed to enslave the poor *Indians*.

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These poor Wretches have no body to interceed for 'em, or to protect 'em ; and are always in great consternation, because continually expos'd to the insults of their Enemies, who oppress 'em without being call'd to account for it. So that they despair of relief, not knowing to whom to address themselves for justice.

Now seeing the Artifices that have bin us'd to enslave these poor Creatures, are so unjust and tyrannical ; and seeing these People as well as others are born free, it follows that the *Spaniards* have acted contrary to the Law of Nations, in enslaving all those *Indians* whom they have taken for that end ever since the Discovery of the New World, and have by their Violences evidently transgress'd the Law of God and Nature.

To prove yet farther that the *Spaniards* are oblig'd to restore those *Indians* their Liberty, whom they yet detain in bondage, there's only need of making one reflection, namely, that the Law of God obliges us to make restitution of every thing we have taken unjustly from our Neighbours, and to make reparation for the injuries done 'em ; and without doing thus 'tis impossible to be sav'd. Upon this Principle 'tis evident, that the *Spaniards* ought to release their *Indian* Slaves, and to do what in 'em lies to make 'em amends for the wrong they have done 'em, against all Law and Equity ; for 'tis not to be suppos'd the sin will be forgiven, till what has bin unjustly taken away is restor'd ; and consequently the *Spaniards* who have treated the poor *Indians* after so ill a manner, and yet don't go about to make 'em satisfaction, are under the guilt of a mortal Sin.

To make this appear yet more evidently, two things must be suppos'd. First, that there were no Slaves in *New Spain*, on the Borders of which there dwelt

dwelt divers Nations, especially the *Mexicans*, that are more dexterous and politic than other *Indians* : This every one knows who is acquainted with the new World. Secondly, That the term *Slave* does not signify the same thing among the *Indians* as among the *Europeans*, but only denotes a Servant with the former, or one that has some particular obligation to assist us in our necessary Affairs ; so that to be the Slave of an *Indian*, is to be but one degree below his Son ; 'tis to dwell in his House, to take care of his Goods and Silver, to wait on his Wife and Children, which is consistent with the enjoyment of his Liberty : He sets the House in order, sows the Land, and does any necessary work, as occasion requires. And his Master on his part treats him with a great deal of Kindness and Humanity, as if he were not oblig'd to render him this Service. Those Missionaries that have learn'd the *Indian* Language, and know the import of their words, can testify the truth of what I say.

It is farther to be suppos'd, that in *New Spain* and *Mexico* many unlawful ways have bin us'd by the *Spaniards* to enslave the *Indians*, in so much that one would have thought they knew nothing of the true God, nor had ever heard of the Precepts of the Gospel. When there was a Famine there, which seldom happens in those rich and fertile Countries, those *Indians* that had a stock of Corn, perswaded them that were poor to sell 'em their Children for some of their Corn : with this proposal they comply'd very willingly, because their Servitude is so easy, their Slaves not being oblig'd to any very hard Labor. And the *Indians* are naturally obsequious and submissive to those on whom they depend ; they would give one of their Children for five Bushels of Corn, and this was the ordinary Price they gave. 'Tis true, this was an unjust method of making Slaves,

Slaves, because all things ought to be common in a time of extreme Necessity; for the Law of Nature obliges us freely to give or lend to those that are under pressing want.

Another occasion on which the *Spaniards* made the *Indians* their Slaves was this; when any one had found an *Indian* with some Ears of Corn which he had stolen, he had Authority to make him his Slave. The Missionaries have observ'd that some of 'em would maliciously scatter Ears of Corn in the Highways, that they might seize those for Slaves that had innocently gather'd 'em up. Besides this, the Parents and Relations of him that had the Corn found upon him were made Slaves for this imaginary Theft, which is a very unjust and criminal Artifice. They likewise had invented a sort of Play among 'em, in which he that lost was made a Slave; the best Players would make as if they knew not how to play, to ensnare those that were ignorant into their Service. If any one whom they had thus caught, presum'd to run away, his nearest Relations were forc'd to supply his place. When a Free-man had lain with a Woman that was a Slave, her Master had power to seize him, or his Wife, if he were married, and to oblige him to serve him till she was brought to bed. Which Custom obtain'd throughout the whole Country. He that had a young Maid to his Slave, would enslave any one that lay with her, which was attended with great Inconveniences; for the Masters of these young She-slaves would put 'em upon enticing Men to lie with 'em, on purpose to catch 'em in this Trap. If a Slave took any thing out of his Master's House to give it to his Relations, they all immediately became his Master's Slaves. When several Merchants went into other Countries for Slaves to sell in *New Spain*, where they had the best trade for 'em, they lent those that were poor their

their Goods and Corn upon Usury; and when they were not in a condition to pay for what they had bought, they seiz'd 'em for Slaves. If he that ow'd the Sum, died before the Debt was discharg'd, and his Wife and Children were not capable of paying the Creditor, they became his Slaves. In time of Famine, Parents would sell one of their Children to serve a Master for a certain number of years; but indeed there was no end of this Servitude, for if the Master dy'd, his Relations would take possession of his Slave. But the Bishop of *Mexico*, who is a very pious and virtuous Prelat, has written an account in Latin of all the Tricks the *Spaniards* have us'd to enslave the *Indians*; by which 'tis easy to see with how much Injustice they have abus'd the Simplicity and Necessity of these poor wretches to reduce 'em to a miserable state of Bondage.

From what I have been relating it appears, that the *Indians* being Idolaters, and destitute of the knowledge of the true God, and the Rules of Christianity, don't regulate their Actions by such Motives as the fear of Hell, and the desire of Heaven, and the hope of having their good Works rewarded hereafter: Therefore they are vicious and corrupt in many respects; for instance, they don't observe the Law of Nations in the Wars they make one upon another; by which one may well guess there are many other unjust things done among 'em.

But the Faith of Christ, and the Precepts of the Gospel are for preserving only good Laws and Customs, and for abolishing those that are bad, especially such as are opposite to the Law of Nature, and prejudicial to Human Society. Therefore those *Indians* that are converted, who have bin guilty of Polygamy, are oblig'd to put away all their Wives but one, according to the prescription of the Law of God, as well as to restore all the Goods they have

have gotten by unlawful ways of Robbery or Extortion. If Christians follow the evil Customs of Infidels, or tolerate 'em when they can hinder 'em, they manifestly render themselves Accomplices in the Crimes of those Idolaters, because we are oblig'd by the Divine Law to abstain from such Actions as may occasion Scandal, or any way injure the temporal or spiritual Welfare of our Neighbor. For this reason St. Paul commanded Christians not to eat things offer'd to Idols, lest it should be thought they approv'd of those damnable Sacrifices; tho they might eat of those very meat, provided the Pagans did not see 'em, and so were not scandaliz'd by the Action.

All Christians are oblig'd by the Divine Word to do what in 'em lies for the Abolition of sinful Customs, or at least to abstain from 'em, and disapprove 'em themselves. And when a man doubts whether any Action he is about to do is just or unjust, he can't do it with a good Conscience: this is a general Rule that admits of no exception, because Christians are oblig'd by the Doctrin of the Gospel, rather to lose all they have than to commit the least Sin. Therefore while the Mind hesitates and doubts, whether the Action on which one thinks be sin or no, we ought necessarily to abstain from it. The very desire of doing such an Action is contrary to right Reason, and to the Love of God; because it would be to expose one's self to the hazard of transgressing the Divine Will, to do that concerning which one labors under an uncertainty whether it be lawful or forbidden. And the Doubt, when one thus ventures to sin, is no longer a mere Doubt, but most certainly becomes an Offence against God, because we are always oblig'd to take the safest course. When it falls out that we meet with two ways, and are uncertain which is the right, we

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ought always to chuse that which is the least dangerous, according to that Maxim of St. *Augustine* in his penitential Book, *Take what is certain, and leave what is uncertain.*

The Rules of the Civil Law, which are confirm'd by Reason, by the Law of Nature, and that of Christian Charity, admit of a Dispensation in some cases, when there is a prospect of some great Good, to which a greater strictness would probably be prejudicial. But 'tis a general Rule, that when a Man deliberates on two doubtful things, he is to determin his choice on that side where he may avoid Sin, where there are the fewest Inconveniences, and where his Neighbour's Interest runs the least hazard. Upon this Principle, Clergy-men ought not to be oblig'd to retire and live separtly from their Mothers, Grandmothers or Sisters, or to forsake their Father's House; because such a Separation may be very disadvantageous to 'em, tho there may possibly be some Inconvenience likewise in their dwelling together.

That man retains a thing with an evil Conscience, about which he is in doubt whether it be lawfully gotten, or which he has receiv'd of one who had no right to it, or who had reason to doubt whether it belong'd to him or no. Whatever is possess'd under such circumstances, is kept contrary to the Rules of Justice, and against both the Law of God and Nature. Therefore the *Spaniards* who keep those *Indians* in slavery, concerning whom they are in doubt whether they have bin bought, or given to those of whom they had 'em, act contrary to Justice and to the Law of God, in retaining 'em while under this doubt. Every one knows that a man is oblig'd to restore whatever he does not lawfully possess, and whatever he has receiv'd from one that had no just right to it, because a man can't

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communicate a right to another which he has not first himself. Thus when any one buys or receives any thing from a Person who sells or gives it, and yet has no right to it, he is unjust if he keeps it, and is oblig'd to make restitution. The Reason is evident, because 'tis no less than the commission of Theft, wilfully to retain any thing against the will of him to whom it appertains. And tho this thing should have pass'd through a thousand hands before it came to you, you would have no right to withhold it from the proper Owner, because these were all unlawful Possessors, and consequently ought to have made restitution. And tho some human Laws give permission to retain a thing which one has bought with Money that is coin'd with the King's stamp, and is current in the Commonwealth, yet this is no lawful Title to it, because human Laws must not prescribe contrary to the Law of God and Nature, nor to good Morals, which forbid Theft, and the withholding of another man's Goods against the consent of the rightful Owner. Inferiors, and such are Kings themselves in respect of the Divine Majesty, can't justly establish any thing in prejudice to the Law of God, which is superior to all other Laws.

He that buys stolen Goods knowingly, is an Accessory in the Robbery: and if he does but suspect they are stolen, and has not bin so diligent as he might have bin, to inform himself whether they were lawfully gotten, he can't keep 'em with a good Conscience; because no man can innocently do that which exposes him to Sin. And if we will not take the pains to inform our selves whether that which is sold or given to us be lawfully gotten, when we are in doubt about it, we can't be the lawful Possessors, because this is a culpable and wilful Ignorance. Those who have in such cases consulted Men capable of giving information, are excusable, unless

less themselves be of such a Character as obliges 'em to be acquainted with Law and Equity, as Civilians, Judges, and the like; or when they ask advice, content themselves with consulting only one Person, tho they have opportunity of advising with many; or ask counsel of interested Persons, and such as will not answer according to the Dictates of their Conscience, instead of consulting Men of Integrity who will give advice according to the Rules of Law and Equity; or when they address themselves to Persons whose Honesty is suspected upon good grounds. A Man is not excusable under such Circumstances as these, tho he ask Counsel of the Learned in the Law; and after having taken their Advice, acts contrary to Right and Equity. These four Circumstances being regarded, may be of great use to ease scrupulous persons of their doubts, and to give 'em peace of Conscience.

And by these Principles it may be easily known that the *Spaniards* unjustly retain most of their *Indian* Slaves against the Law of God: and if they have a right to any of 'em, the number is very small, and they have reason to doubt whether these have been lawfully made Slaves; because those they have had from the *Indians* have been brought to 'em as a Tribute extorted from 'em against their will, by Fear, Menaces and Torments; so that they have no just Title to 'em: or if they have bought 'em of *Indians*, they have us'd unfair tricks to procure 'em, having terrified the *Caciques*, and constrain'd 'em by Tortures to deliver up their Subjects into their hands, threatening otherwise to accuse 'em to the Judges for worshipping and offering Sacrifices to Idols; so that the poor *Caciques* when they could not give the *Spaniards* as many *Indians* as they demanded, us'd to steal 'em where they could. 'Tis true, when these Disorders came to be known to his Majesty,

Majesty, he expressly forbad any such ways of enslaving the People for the future.

As for those few Slaves which the *Indians* have voluntarily sold, tho the *Spaniards* have hitherto made no question that they had a lawful right to 'em, they have had however reason enough to doubt it, and they ought by no means to have taken possession of 'em, till they had first us'd all necessary diligence to get information whether they might do it with a good Conscience; and if after all their inquiry the matter remain'd dubious, they ought not to have bought 'em while under that scruple: So that all the ways they have taken to procure themselves great numbers of Slaves are unlawful: And when the *Indian* Princes saw how eagerly the *Spaniards* pursu'd this trade, they would tyrannize over their Subjects, and force 'em to become Slaves, that they might be capable of answering the *Spaniards* demands, and of buying the trifles they sold 'em. The Judges of the Royal Council, who have sounded this matter to the bottom, have declar'd, that scarce any of the *Indians* have been lawfully enslav'd, and on this account have set many of 'em at liberty.

The Missionary Monks who understood the Language of the *Indians*, and were acquainted with their Secrets, have declar'd, that those who have kept 'em as their Slaves, have done so without any just ground: and they had no interest to speak after this manner, being only concern'd about the Salvation of Souls.

And can it be thought that the *Spaniards* were ignorant of what themselves had done, who made themselves formidable to the poor *Indians*, and forc'd 'em by severe Punishments to procure 'em what Slaves they requir'd? And these ignorant Infidels, who have so little of the fear or love of God, might easily persuade themselves that there was no Injustice

justice in doing what they saw Christians do before 'em; so that their ill Examples might well embolden 'em to steal away fatherless Children, to trepan the ignorant, and even to make use of force and violence to get Slaves to sell to the *Spaniards*. For after this manner have the *Indians* been corrupted and induc'd to commit all kinds of Injustice against their own Country-men to procure Slaves, since they have had Conversation with the Christians, who encouraged 'em in these Tricks, not only by their Words, but likewise by their Example. And 'tis most certain, the *Spaniards* could not be ignorant of these unrighteous Proceedings, since themselves were the occasion and instruments of all this Mischief: and it must at least be granted, that they were oblig'd to suspect whether the Slaves that were brought 'em were taken as lawful Prisoners of War, and to inquire whether they might keep 'em with a good Conscience or not.

They drove this trade with suspicious Persons, and therefore might well have presum'd that they offended the Rules of Justice; and that those that gave or sold these Slaves to 'em, had no right so to do. Men ought to be very cautious how they deal with the *Indians*, lest they approve of the Theft and other Crimes of these Infidels. The *Spaniards* knew well enough what was commonly reported of the *Indians* every where, that they us'd many unjust and tyrannical ways to get Slaves on all sides; and therefore ought to have scrupled the buying of 'em such as were naturally free, and who had bin enslav'd against the Law of Nations: So that they can never excuse themselves from possessing 'em unjustly, and from participating of the Crimes of the *Indians* in stealing and captivating great numbers of People. Among a hundred thousand Slaves whom the *Indians* have sold to the *Spaniards*, or paid 'em by way of

Tribute, perhaps not one of 'em was properly a Slave, or taken in a just and lawful War. But allowing some of 'em to be so, how could they be distinguish'd from the rest in this vast number? Besides, that there is a great difference, as we have already observ'd, between the Slaves of the *Indians* and those of the *Europeans*: The former make Slavery not very uneasy or troublesome, their Slaves being in a manner free, and not much differing from their Children; whereas Slavery among the *Spaniards* is a most terrible condition, and those that are subjected to it, enjoy no Favor, Comfort or Rest, but are continually expos'd to Hunger and Thirst, and other severe Punishments: Nor are there any Laws or Statutes that can soften the cruel Temper of the *Spaniards*, and hinder 'em from exacting of their Slaves such Service as surpasses human Strength.

From all the Principles we have been establishing, it follows, First, that his Majesty is oblig'd by the Law of God to set all those *Indians* at liberty, whom the *Spaniards* have made their Slaves, and unjustly retain as such. First, Because his Majesty is oblig'd to do Justice to all the World, to great and small, without respect of Persons, without despising the Cause of the miserable and afflicted, who are not in a condition to defend themselves, or redress their own Grievances. 'Tis the principal duty of Kings to execute Justice, and protect the weak against the oppression of the strong; and when they fail in this, they sometimes draw down the Divine Vengeance on their own Persons and Kingdoms; because the Cries of the poor, and such as labor under Misery, incessantly go up to the Throne of God. And since the *Spaniards* unjustly oppress the *Indians*, who have no way to secure themselves from the Violence and Tyranny of their Persecutors; 'tis evident his Majesty is oblig'd to

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stop the course of their Injustice, and to restore those poor People their Liberty who groan under so cruel a Bondage. Nor ought this to be one moment deferr'd, seeing these Vexations are publick and notorious, and his Majesty cannot be ignorant of 'em.

Those Kings that are willing to observe the strict Rules of Justice, whether Pagans or Christians, ought to use their utmost Efforts to keep their Subjects in peace, tho at the same time they should forget nothing that may conduce to lead 'em in the way of Virtue; because the end that every Governor of a Commonwealth ought to propose to himself is, to act so as to render all his Subjects virtuous. How much more are Catholic Princes, who profess to follow the Rules of Christ, oblig'd to govern their Subjects according to his Precepts, and to remove all the Obstacles that are likely to turn 'em out of the way of Truth? In which Enterprize they cannot succeed without giving 'em good and equal Laws, and obliging 'em to an exact observance of 'em.

Christian Princes are moreover bound to exhort their Subjects to serve the true God, and to yield obedience to the Doctrin of Christ, as much as possibly they can. And seeing the *Spaniards* by unjustly retaining the *Indians* in slavery, are continually in the habit of a mortal Sin, and consequently don't live according to the Laws of Christ, our Kings ought to command 'em to release all the *Indians*, that they may remove this great Obstacle which lies in the way of their Subjects Salvation. The Royal Character of Princes obliges 'em to make Laws and Regulations, that Justice may be maintain'd, and the People subject to their Government preserv'd in the practice of Virtue; and are likewise requir'd by the Divine Law to employ their temporal Power for the augmentation of the Catholic Church, and

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the maintenance of Ecclesiastical Disci-
 plin, that the Professors of Christianity may not rebel against the
 Ministers of Christ. In this they may lawfully em-
 ploy the terror of their Arms, to keep all People
 to their Duty; for otherwise Temporal Powers
 would not be necessary for the administration of the
 Affairs of the Church. From hence it may fairly
 be concluded, that the King of *Spain* ought to use
 his power to render Justice to the poor *Indians*, who
 are so tyrannically oppress'd, and to strengthen the
 hands of the Ministers of the Church in the *Indies*
 by his Authority, who are not able to make any
 progress by their Ministry among the Natives, nor
 to reclaim the *Spaniards* from their Vices, while they
 are suffer'd to afflict and persecute the poor *Indians*,
 because these continual Violences, and their fix'd
 resolution to persist in 'em, are habitual Sins. At
 present they regard not at all the Remonstrances and
 Menaces of Prelats, or Ecclesiastical Censures, but
 go on adding Sin to Sin, in so much that the Church
 in the *Indies* is in a forlorn condition, and under
 great difficulties: so that the *Indians* ought to be set
 free, that the Obstructions lying in the way of their
 Salvation may be remov'd, and that they may the
 better be engag'd to submit to the Doctrin that is
 preach'd to 'em: For by this means Christian
 Pastors will have a full liberty to exercise their Mi-
 nistry, and to discharge their Apostolic Functions.

The Bishops of *America* are oblig'd by the Law
 of God continually to solicit his Majesty and his
 Royal Council to deliver the *Indians* from the Op-
 pression under which they groan, and to give 'em
 their former Liberty, because these Bishops are ne-
 cessarily engag'd by their Character to do the best
 they can for the discharge of their Pastoral Office,
 which consists in governing and teaching the People
 under their Conduct, and in providing for all their
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spiritual necessities; as also in securing 'em as well as
 they can from any temporal Injury, and in rescuing
 'em from the hands of Oppressors, especially when
 the Vexations they suffer are so many stumbling
 blocks in the way of their Salvation. Nor ought
 they to be wanting in procuring 'em all the tempo-
 ral Advantages they can.

The Dominican and Franciscan Friars are very pi-
 ous and prudent, and deserve to be highly commend-
 ed, in that they have agreed to refuse absolution to
 all the *Spaniards* of *New Spain*, who keep *Indian*
 Slaves, and to oblige 'em to bring this affair under
 examination before the Royal Council, in con-
 formity to the Laws newly made; tho they would
 have done better not to have had recourse to this
 Tribunal. These Monks know very well by experi-
 ence what unjust and deceitful Methods have been
 us'd to inflave the *Indians*, and can't doubt but God
 has been highly offended by these Violences, and
 that those who have committed 'em are oblig'd to
 repair the Injuries of which they have been guilty.
 A Confessor who undertakes to hear Mens Confessi-
 ons, one who officiates in quality of a Bishop or
 Curat as a spiritual Judg, ought to understand the
 Obligations of his Ministry, and to have that know-
 ledg and prudence which is requisite to perform it
 after a becoming manner, that he may pass a wise
 and just Judgment on all matters propos'd to him,
 and rightly discern what wrong is offer'd to any op-
 pressed Party. If his ignorance or negligence is the
 cause of his Mistake, so that he obliges not his Pe-
 nitent to restore any ill-gotten goods, he commits a
 great Sin, and is himself bound to make restitution
 and amends for the Injustice done the offended
 Party: Just as a Physician who has through igno-
 rance done some considerable Mischief to his Pa-
 tient, or occasion'd his death, ought to make some

special Reparation for his fault. The same may be said of Judges that pass an unrighteous Sentence, while they are ignorant of the Law, or take no care to inform themselves of the merit of the Cause before 'em, because such neglect and ignorance are criminal, and they ought to know the matters on which they are intrusted to pass a Judgment.

'Tis certain all the Ecclesiastical Persons in *New Spain* are well assur'd that the *Indians* have been enslav'd, and are still kept in bondage, contrary to all Law and Equity; and therefore are not oblig'd to refer the Examination of this Affair to the Royal Council: besides, there are all sorts of tricks and devices used to divert the Council from taking cognizance of the matter, lest they should suppress those vexatious Practices. His Majesty ought with all speed to issue out his Orders for the release of these miserable People, and so much the rather, because the oppression they are under is the occasion of the ruin of an infinit number of Souls. And this is the only way to reclaim the *Spaniards* from the habit of a mortal Sin, and to put the Prelats in a condition freely to acquit themselves of their Ecclesiastical Functions.

Among all the Expedients Frier *Don Bartholomew de Las-Casas*, Bishop of the Royal City of *Chiapa*, propos'd for the reestablishment of Peace and Tranquillity in *America*, the most effectual was that of directly subjecting all the *West-Indies* to the Crown of *Spain*, that so the Spanish Lords might be incapable of making the *Indians* their own Subjects and Vassals. And he supported this Proposal with many very cogent Reasons.

First, he says, the Princes and People of the New World being Infidels, and their Conversion to our
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holy Faith appearing necessary, 'tis very proper they should be under the Protection of a Catholic and powerful King, who has a true zeal for the honor and propagation of the Christian Religion, and might send able Missionaries into the New World, to bring those Idolaters to the knowledge of the true God, and to embrace our Divine Religion, and submit themselves to the Holy See. And hence it appears that nothing can be more advantageous to the *Indians*, than to put themselves under the protection of Catholic Princes, that no particular Lords may be capable of taking possession of 'em as their Property. This is what the Kings of *Spain* ought to regard, without sharing with any others that Power and Authority they have acquired over the *Indians*; for they ought to preserve this Jurisdiction immediately to themselves, and not divide it to invest private Men with it. And this is an Affair of so great consequence, that no less than both the temporal and eternal Welfare of those Nations depend on it; for the Conversion of the New World would be a very advantageous thing to the Commonwealth.

'Tis neither just nor possible to abandon this Jurisdiction to private Persons, since none but the King can be invested with it; because when the Pope has once made choice of any Person or Power for this Affair, it ought not to be delegated or entrusted to another. When he has in this matter declar'd himself in favor of any Person illustrious by his Character and Merit, who has a perfect knowledge of any Cause he may have to determin, 'tis to be presum'd he'll pass such a Judgment as the Pope himself would have done. Now 'tis manifest that in the Case in question we have a Person cloth'd with Grandeur and Dignity, seeing he is King of *Spain*, a very good Christian, and zealous for the Catholic Religion;
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and the matter is of great importance, because it concerns the preaching and propagation of the true Faith and Worship of God, the Conversion of numerous Nations, and the Government of 'em; which is to be administred with Lenity and Prudence, that Justice may be maintain'd among 'em, and the love of Virtue inspir'd into 'em: which is an Employ too great, for any but Sovereign Princes to perform.

'Tis certain the Holy See has chosen the King of *Spain* to be entrusted with the Government of the *Indies*; which may be prov'd by two considerable Circumstances. The first of which is the Clause added in the Commillion, *We rely upon your Fidelity, Prudence and Justice*: which is inserted in the Bull of Grant and Commision of the *Indies* to the most serene Kings of *Spain*, wherein the Pope says in exprefs Terms;

'Knowing you to be Kings truly Catholic, as we 'have been assur'd by many experiences, and that 'your Piety is every where regarded throughout the 'Christian World, we doubt not but you will use 'all the care and diligence you can for the Exaltation and Increase of the Catholic Faith; as you have 'spar'd no charge or pains to rescue the Kingdom 'of *Grenada* from the hands of *Savazens* and Infidels, 'which has so much conduc'd to the Glory of the 'name of God.

The second Circumstance is, that when any exprefs Order is added in the Commision, the first Clause of it is exprefs'd in these Words:

'We exhort you by your Holy Baptism, which 'obliges you to submit to our Apostolic Orders; 'and we conjure you by the Bowels of Compassion 'in Jesus Christ, that you would generously undertake this Expedition, to engage the People of the 'New World to embrace the Christian Religion: 'nor let any Hardships or Perils discourage you, but
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'put your trust in God, who will make your Work 'succeed to his Glory.

The other Clause contains a kind of Command, and is thus exprefs'd;

'We command you in virtue of the holy Obedience you owe us; and we doubt not but you 'will undertake this Affair with a great deal of 'zeal and fervor, and send into the Islands and 'Continent Men fearing God, able, experienc'd, 'and capable of instructing the Inhabitants of the 'New World in the Catholic Faith, and of inspiring 'em with the love of Virtue.

These Circumstances make it sufficiently appear, that the Pope gave the charge of causing the *Indians* to be instructed to the Kings of *Spain*, in consideration of the signal Services render'd the Church by that Crown; nay, that he has oblig'd them to undertake this good work by his exprefs Command to apply themselves to it, in virtue of the holy Obedience they owe him.

Pursuant to this these Princes solemnly engag'd themselves to second the Pope's designs with all their Power: Their Promise was turn'd into a Covenant, and became a formal Obligation on 'em; and consequently 'tis the indispensible Duty of the Kings of *Spain* to be the Ministers of the Holy See in carrying the Word of God into the *Indies*, and contributing all their Power to continue the work of converting the *Indians*: Their care should be extended to their temporal as well as spiritual Concerns; and they ought to neglect nothing that may be necessary for their preservation or conversion. Nor is it lawful for these Princes to abdicate this Authority, and divest themselves of this Jurisdiction.

Let your Majesty therefore please to consider seriously how strict and indispensible this Obligation is; be pleas'd to remember that in the year 1499, when

when *Christopher Columbus*, the first Discoverer and Admiral of the *West-Indies*, had permitted each *Spaniard* that accompanied him to take one *Indian* in recompence of the great Services done the Crown of *Spain* in that Voyage, when those *Indians* arriv'd in *Spain*, your Majesty so much resented it, that 'twas not easy to appease your Anger on that occasion. Your Majesty ask'd if the Admiral had power to destroy your Subjects; and commanded the *Spaniards* to send back to the *Indies* all the *Indians* they had brought from thence on pain of Death. Accordingly they return'd in the year 1500, when *Francis Bobadilla* went to take the Government of the New World.

The second reason that proves your Majesty under an obligation to incorporate the *Indies* into the Inheritance of your Crown, and not to suffer the *Spaniards* in the least to usurp any thing in quality of Lords and Masters, is, that otherwise 'tis impossible the People should ever be brought to espouse Christianity. To comprehend the force of this Reason it must be remember'd that the Design of your Majesty's Title to possess these newly-discover'd Nations, is no other than the publication of the Gospel, to spread the knowledg of Jesus Christ among 'em; and consequently your Majesty is oblig'd to remove all Impediments that oppose this end, by establishing good Laws and Orders, and using all other just ways and means to render this design prosperous. The End is always the great Spring that should give motion and direction to our Actions; and 'tis this we ought to have principally in view, that we may the better foresee what Obstructions are likely to lie in our way, and take the most futable measures to attain the end propos'd. Now 'tis certain, that the Power usurp'd by the *Spaniards* over the *Indians* is one of the greatest hindrances to the preaching of the

the Gospel among 'em for their Conversion. All the World knows their excessive Avarice makes 'em unwilling to suffer the Missionary Monks to preach the Gospel to the *Indians*, whom those Tyrants look upon as their Vassals; because the publication of the Gospel (they say) occasions a considerable damage to 'em two ways. First, because these Monks make the *Indians* lose too much time in hearing their Instructions; these People (say they) are naturally lazy and negligent, so that when they are diverted from their Work, 'tis hard to bring 'em to it again. It has often happen'd when the Monks had got the *Indians* together in their Church to instruct 'em, the *Spaniards* have come upon 'em, and taken away a hundred or two by force, beating 'em cruelly to the scandal of the rest, in spite of what the poor Monks could say or do. And such Violences can't but extremely impede the Salvation of the *Indians*. Another Disadvantage the *Spaniards* pretend to receive from the Conversion of the *Indians*, is, that when they are once instructed in the Maxims of Christianity, they grow proud and untractable, and not so capable to serve 'em: and is not this an open Confession that their private Interest is dearer to 'em than the Salvation of these Peoples Souls? The frame of their mind is an habitual mortal Sin against Charity, the Order of which they pervert, not only in not promoting their Salvation themselves, which they ought every day to do, being oblig'd in Conscience either to instruct 'em, or procure others to do so; but also in that they are so far from acquitting themselves of this duty, that with all their might they hinder others from informing 'em, without being afraid of the Judgments of that God, who will one day severely punish 'em for want of Charity to their Neighbours, in withholding light from 'em, tho they

they have so much need of Information. They hinder the pious Missionaries from coming to preach to 'em, lest they should become acquainted with their Vexations and Cruelties, which are so great and strange, that the Monks are seiz'd with horror when the *Indians* relate 'em. And when they see with their own Eyes how miserably the *Indians* are treated, they make it their business (as they are bound in duty to God) to oppose these Disorders. They sometimes advertise the Judges of those Tribunals your Majesty has established there of these things, to seek to redress 'em that way; tho' the means hitherto used have had very little effect; because the Governors and Judges having a great many *Indians* themselves, to whom they are unmerciful and cruel, abuse their Power in oppressing these poor Creatures, causing 'em to be punish'd rigorously for the slightest faults. This is the true reason why the Monks are look'd upon as so many troublesome Spies, and the Enemies of their temporal Interest; so that they can't endure so much as to see 'em, not would they willingly tolerate 'em in the Country, but often curse 'em, and invent all sorts of Calumnies against 'em. The poor *Indians* almost despair to see any end of their Miseries; and having nothing to trust to but the Zeal and Charity of the Monks, do love and reverence 'em as their Deliverers and Protectors, still putting great Confidence in them under all their troubles; they often come in Bodies out of their Towns and Cities to meet 'em: But 'tis a great mortification to the *Spaniards* to see the *Indians* pay these good Men so much respect; and they take occasion from hence to reproach 'em, pretending the Monks design to make themselves the Lords and Masters of these poor Wretches. But God only knows what Labors and Hardships these

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Missionaries undergo, and to what Extremity they are often reduc'd by poverty and hunger; when they undertake great Journeys with inexpressible fatigue, in rough and troublesome ways, to assist the *Indians*, and shew 'em the way of Salvation; and to admonish the *Spaniards* of their enormous Sins, in tormenting 'em so many ways, in robbing and murdering 'em: all which Violences call for large restitution, if they expect to be sav'd. Covetousness and Injustice reign more in the *Indies*, than in all the World besides; tho' the *Spaniards* have no just right nor power there, since they don't derive it of your Majesty. The *Indians* are naturally timorous and cowardly, or rather the ill Treatments and Cruelties of the *Spaniards* have terrified 'em to that degree, that consternation and dread are become natural to 'em, insomuch that they scarce remember they are Men.

'Tis impossible for Men in their Condition to apply themselves to hear the preaching of the Gospel, that so they might become Christians, since the *Spaniards* so strenuously oppose it; who ought therefore to give up the Title they have usurp'd over them, ever since they made a Conquest of 'em, as they are wont to boast. They that have any Interest in a Governor's favor, dispose of the Persons of the *Indians* as their proper Goods, and divide 'em among themselves, as if they were born absolute Vassals. Two or three *Spaniards* will sometimes appropriate to themselves a whole Nation of *Indians*. It may be the Master of the Family falls to the Lot of one, his Wife to another, and their Children to a third. They are sent to the Mines loaded like Horses, and forc'd to carry heavy Burdens a hundred or two hundred Leagues; this is seen every day. To obviate these Disorders, it will

will not be sufficient that your Majesty demand your Tributes, and threaten those with severe Punishment who shall presume to torment the *Indians* for the future, or exact such Tasks of 'em as they are not justly oblig'd to perform; for they'l still persist in the same course.

As the severe Bondage of the *Indians* is a great obstacle to their Conversion on the one hand, so on the other is the course taken to disperse 'em at a distance one from another, whereby 'tis almost impossible to assemble a considerable number of 'em. Both these ways prevent their being instructed in our Religion, and put in the way of Salvation. 'Tis necessary in order to their being fed with the Divine Word, that they live in Society, and be in a condition to be easily assembled; and 'tis as necessary they should enjoy an entire Liberty, that they might voluntarily embrace the Word of God. The Learned say there was no System of written Laws given by God in the time of *Abraham*, because the Church was his Family, and did not consist of any whole Nation. Nor did God see good to give his Law to the *Israelites* while in *Egypt*, tho they were then a numerous People, and computed to be no less than six hundred thousand Men able to bear Arms, because they were not a free People, being yet in Captivity. But the Almighty gave 'em his Law when these two conditions were found in 'em together, namely, when they were both Numerous and Free; which was not till he had employ'd his Power to deliver 'em from the Yoke of *Pharaoh*. But of all Laws, that of the Gospel especially requires both these Conditions, because it supposes Persons at liberty to seek to be instructed in it, and to put the Precepts of it in practise. And 'tis very proper for those that observe the Laws of Christ to

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incorporate themselves and live in Societies, that they may perform the solemn Acts of Divine Worship by the practice of the seven Sacraments and other Ceremonies of the Church. 'Tis necessary for Christians to meet together from time to time in public to hear the Word of God, and assist at other parts of his Worship, that so new Converts may be confirm'd in the manner of Life they have embrac'd; for without these helps they would insensibly decline in their Zeal, and might come even to lose their Faith. In short, if the *Spaniards* are permitted to keep the *Indians* scatter'd up and down on the Mountains, and in the Vallies, and to employ 'em perpetually in performing the unreasonable Tasks they exact of 'em, it will be impossible to instruct 'em in our Religion to any purpose.

By what has been said, your Majesty may very well conceive what Disorders reign in the *Indies*, and how necessary 'tis to hinder the *Spaniards* from retaining the Natives under so severe a Yoke, and from proceeding to depopulate the Country as they have hitherto done. And that which is yet more deplorable, is, that they suffer 'em to die without taking care to have the Sacraments administer'd to 'em, having no more regard for 'em than for Dogs or Horses. One would think they believ'd these People to have no immortal Souls, but were incapable of Rewards or Punishments in the other Life.

The *Spaniards* are no way qualified either to be Lords and Masters of the *Indians*, or to teach 'em the Doctrin of the Gospel, or to induce 'em to embrace it by their Examples. A considerable number of *Indians* were committed to the care of *John Colmenero* to be instructed in our Religion, tho he was so ignorant that he knew not well how to make the sign of the Cross, or give any tolerable account of his own Faith; in so much that when he was ask'd

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what he taught those *Indians* under his Conduct, he could make no other Answer than that he taught 'em to make the sign of the Cross, but pronounc'd the words wrong that are us'd in that Ceremony. When the *Indians* of one Province had brought all their Idols to the Missionaries, with Protestations that they now detested that impious Worship, and were resolv'd to serve the true God for time to come, the *Spaniards* sold these very Idols to other *Indians*, or exchang'd 'em for Slaves. What concern of Mind can the *Spaniards* be suppos'd to have for the Salvation of these People, when they only design to enrich themselves, and thereby to be qualified for Employments above their Rank; and when they are so ignorant, that they don't know the Creed, or ten Commandments? They are sordidly covetous, and indeed give themselves up to all sorts of Vices; so that their Lives are infamous and abominable. The *Indians* are comparatively more honest and virtuous than they are: for tho they are Pagans and Idolaters, yet are content with one Wife, as Nature teaches 'em, while they see Christians take fourteen or fifteen Women, how expressly soever the Law they profess forbids it. Many of the *Indians* scarce know what it is to rob one another, to offer Violence to any one, or to commit Murder: Whereas they see the Christians guilty of all these, against all Reason and Justice, and that they violate all their Oaths, so that there is no ground to put the least confidence in 'em. The poor *Indians* that are Witnesses of the Crimes of such as call themselves Christians, think the God they worship is the vilest and most unjust God in the world, because he does not immediately inflict some signal Punishment on those that pretend to serve him, for their flagitious Lives. They also think your Majesty the most cruel of all Princes, because your Subjects are so abomi-

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nably vicious; they fancy (as I have before said) that your Majesty drinks human Blood, and eats the Flesh of Men. And tho these things may appear strange and surprizing to your Majesty, they are no news to us who have been accusom'd to 'em. And we can't but wonder, that some extraordinary marks of the Divine Anger and Indignation have not been inflicted on *Spain* to make her smart for the Crimes committed by the *Spaniards* in *America*.

Your Majesty may by this time very well perceive the Character of those Men to whom the charge and care of the Souls of the *Indians* is committed. And 'tis no wonder that there's so little done either for their temporal or spiritual Advantage, since the discovery of the *Indies*, under such Conduct. God is no more known there now than he was before, unless it be in the Province of *Mexico*. And that slight Instruction the People have had there has cost 'em very dear: Tho the Son of God commanded his Disciples to give that freely which they had freely receiv'd. The *Indians* were committed to the *Spaniards*, on condition they would undertake to teach 'em the Christian Religion: therefore since they have acquitted themselves so ill of that Commission, they ought to make restitution of all they have taken from 'em under this pretext. However, God will not be mocked, who sees all things, and is a witness of all the wicked Actions of the *Spaniards*, who have made it their business only to torment and inflave these poor People instead of taking care to inform 'em of the Truth. And indeed these secular Men are not very proper to be made Preachers of the Gospel. Your Majesty has been ill serv'd in not having had good Information given you of the ill deportment of your Subjects. For 'tis not to be doubted but your Majesty would

have provided a Remedy, if due care had been taken to give you advice of it: Or if your Majesty had not done it, you would have very much wrong'd your Conscience in sending such Men into the new World to preach the Faith, and give testimony to the Doctrin of Jesus Christ, who are absolutely incapable of so honourable a Ministry, and even decry and debase it by their scandalous Conversation. 'Tis therefore necessary that this Employment be taken away from Secular, and committed to Religious Persons, as agreeing better with their Character, which may be done without giving these Ecclesiastical Ministers any occasion to claim a temporal Jurisdiction over the *Indians*; for if that should be allow'd, we should fall into the same Inconveniences we are endeavouring to avoid. The corrupt Lives and evil Examples of the *Spaniards* do more hurt than the preaching of an infinite number of Priests and Monks can do good. Therefore your Majesty is oblig'd in Conscience to deprive the *Spaniards* of the power they usurp over the *Indians*, and never suffer 'em to make 'em their Vassals.

One principal Reason that proves this Proposition is, that People ought to enjoy Peace and Tranquillity, that they may be in a condition to attend the Worship of God, and the good Works prescrib'd by the Christian Religion, and not to be diverted from the Sacraments by being condemn'd to continual Labor. Which state of Peace and Rest can't subsist without preserving to every Man his Property, and guarding him from all the assaults of Injury and Injustice. The Governors of Commonwealths are bound by the Law of God to remove out of the way all Obstructions to so necessary a Peace, and speedily to allay those Dissensions and Troubles that may continue Discord among such as

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profess Christianity, because 'tis directly opposit to the end of God in creating Men; for he sends 'em into the World to observe his Commands, and to apply themselves to the exercise of Religion and good Works, that they may thereby merit eternal Life. This good order is necessary in every Christian Republic, but there especially where the Christian Faith has been but lately entertain'd. The *Spaniards* are too covetous and self-interested to have any Jurisdiction over the *Indians* granted 'em, because they'l never give 'em any respite or repose, but go on to rob and torment 'em all the ways they can invent. There is no kind of Injustice but they commit it to spoil these poor People, and therefore there is no way to shelter 'em from their Oppressions, but by annexing the *Indies* to the proper Inheritance of your Majesty's Crown. The *Spaniards* kill the *Indians* with impunity in the Fields, in the High-ways, and in the Mines, and do it more boldly, because many times there are no Witnesses present to convict 'em of their Cruelties. So that nothing can be more evident, than that the *Indians* are not in a condition to compose their Minds to attend to the Divine Word, so as to be induc'd to obey the Divine Commands, while the *Spaniards* are their absolute Lords, who will continually harass 'em with endless Trouble and Persecution, which will fill their minds with Anguish and Vexation, and all kinds of Misery, nay with an aversion to your Majesty, and a great hatred to our God, and to his Law, which seems to 'em so severe, so heavy and intolerable a Yoke. They can't but think your Majesty's Government is tyrannical, as well as that the God whom we adore is unjust and unmerciful; supposing him the Author of all the Violence they suffer from the *Spaniards*; because while they, on pretence of preaching the Catholic Faith, bring so many

terrible Calamities upon 'em, their God suffers this without punishing their Injustice and Impiety after a very remarkable manner. These unfortunate People have no other Relief than what they find in their Tears, which they pour forth day and night, protesting their own Gods were more kind and favourable than the God of the *Europeans*, and saying they enjoy'd a settl'd Peace, and all the Conveniences of Life while they serv'd their own Gods, whereas ever since they had been under the power of the Christians, they had been expos'd to all manner of Abuses. This makes 'em abhor the Catholic Faith, and by consequence puts those that preach to 'em out of a condition to attain their end: So that your Majesty is beyond all question oblig'd by the Law of God to rescue the *Indians* from the Yoke of the *Spaniards*, and to take 'em under your own Protection.

I farther add, that the power your Majesty has over the People of the New World, has been granted you by the Grace of God and the Suffrage of the Church, both for the temporal and eternal Advantage of the *Indians*, which Privilege is a kind of necessary means of their Salvation. So that the Government of 'em belongs of right to none but your Majesty, with the exclusion of all other Powers whatsoever, unless they desire to frustrate all the Advantages both spiritual and temporal, which the *Indians* might hope to reap from the Conversation of the *Europeans*. Your Majesty's Character and Jurisdiction over 'em engages you to remove all Obstacles that may hinder them from obtaining these Advantages, and being sav'd through Faith by the preaching of the Gospel. Your Majesty ought not to suffer your Authority to become infamous and odious, nor your Subjects to usurp a tyrannical Power that will infallibly issue in the destruction of the

the *Indians*, if they must be Vassals to the *Spaniards*, who treat 'em so cruelly and inhumanly. When we first arriv'd in the New World, we saw innumerable multitudes of People inhabiting the Provinces of *New-Spain*, *Cuba*, *Jamaica*, and the Isle of *St. John*, which are now all desolate. The Provinces and Kingdoms of the Continent are in a yet more deplorable condition, tho once as well peopled as *Toledo* and *Seville*. There's scarce any place in the World where Men and other Animals multiply so much as they do in the *Indies*, because the Air of the Country being temperate, favours Generation. But the *Spaniards* have found out the art of entirely depopulating large Countries fill'd with infinit numbers of People, for they have unjustly massacred some to possess themselves of their Gold and Silver, others they have destroy'd by excessive Labors, or by forcing them to carry unreasonable Burdens in long Journeys; in a word, they have sacrific'd the poor *Indians* to enrich themselves. We advance nothing but the very Truth, and all that we have said does not express half of what we have seen; nor will it be a difficult task to convince them of falshood who dare maintain the contrary before your Majesty. None but such as have shar'd in the fruit of this Rapine and Cruelty, will oppose the truth of such Facts as are known to all the world. And 'twill be in vain to pretend that any contagious Distemper has made a Country of 2500 leagues desolate, which before was very populous.

The manner of governing Kingdoms ought to be conformable to the Law of God and Man, for the good and profit of the People, who are to be defended and preserv'd from the Violence and Injustice of those that are destitute of the fear of God, and use a tyrannical Power, merely obtain'd by Usurpation, for the ruin and destruction of those that are

under 'em. Your Majesty may easily be inform'd how the *Spaniards* have abus'd the Power you granted 'em for the Conversion of the *Indians*, in turning it to afflict and destroy 'em with unexampled Cruelty. And that which makes the case yet more lamentable is, that none of those who have been employ'd in your Majesty's service have ever given you advice of these great Disorders, tho' so very prejudicial to your Interest, besides the loss of an infinite number of Souls who have perish'd in the darkness of Paganism, out of which they might have been easily reduc'd if the *Spaniards* had in the least been govern'd by the fear of God.

Your Majesty may please to remember that one Article of the Will of the most Serene Queen *Isabella*, is express'd after this manner :

'Item, Since the time wherein the Apostolic See granted us the Isles and Continent of the Ocean, it has always been our principal Intention to cause the Light of the Gospel to shine on the People of the New World, and to send Prelats and Monks thither to convert and instruct 'em in the truth of the Catholic Faith. Therefore I beseech my Lord the King, and the Princess my Daughter, to labour with all their might to render this Enterprize successful, and to secure the *Indians* from receiving any damage either in their Estates or Persons, but on the contrary to take care they be treated with all sorts of kindness; and that strict and speedy Justice be executed upon any one that shall offer 'em the least Injury, and to keep exactly to the terms of the Apostolic Brief dispatched for this Grant. These are the express Words of that illustrious Princess: And yet no sooner was she expir'd, but the *Spaniards* began to abuse the *Indians*, and to offer 'em all the Outrages of which we have been speaking, and could give your Majesty a more ample Relation.

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To all the foregoing Reasons it may be added, that the *Spaniards* are declar'd Enemies to the *Indians*, and design nothing but their destruction, and to get possession of their Country; which is so undoubted a truth, that 'tis altogether needless to prove it. For he is properly a Man's declar'd Enemy, who goes about to accuse him of some capital Crime, that deserves death; who deprives him of his Liberty and the greatest part of his Goods; who makes a cruel War upon him and enslaves him; who seeks all Occasions to kill him, and takes away his Wife and Children to enslave 'em; who usurps all the Goods of his Relations when they die, and unjustly ravishes from him all that is dear to him. Certainly such Violences as these are against the Rights both of People and Princes; and 'tis sufficient to demonstrate the *Spaniards* to be the declared Enemies of the *Indians*, that they have done 'em all the mischief which we have been relating. For they have calumniated and accus'd 'em of the most horrible and infamous Crimes that can be imagin'd, meerly to get possession of their Estates, and strip 'em of all they had under this pretext; whereas the practices they charge 'em with are purely imaginary, and such as have never been so much as heard of in the great Islands of *New Spain*, *Cuba*, *Jamaica*, and *St. John*, tho' they have been all very populous; for after the most exact Enquiries we were able to make, we could never find the least appearance of those abominable Sins, to which some few *Persians* are addicted. The *Indians* of the Kingdom of *Yucatan* know not what this unnatural Vice is. Nor are there any great number of 'em that eat human Flesh. They are farther accus'd of Idolatry; but Men have no right to punish 'em for this Crime, which ought to be left to the Judgment of God. Our Ancestors were formerly Idolaters, as the *Indians*

dians are now; and the whole Universe was polluted with this Sin before the coming of Christ, and before the Apostles had preach'd the Christian Faith. For God dispers'd them up and down the World to dissipate the darkness that was spread over the Earth: and they did not employ violence and force of Arms to punish Idolatry, or other Sins that were the Consequences of Infidelity; they made use of nothing but the good Examples of their Virtue and Holiness, together with their Doctrin, which contain'd the Menaces and Promises of the Word of God; and we ought to do that in the *Indies*, which they did in other parts of the World. This was the Course which Christ himself first took, and then oblig'd his Apostles to follow his Example. The Son of God came to seek and to save that which was lost. Which of our Ancestors could have been sav'd if they had been put to death for Crimes committed in the time of their unbelief? the express Words of the Gospel are contrary to this Method; for Christ says to his Disciples, *Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of Sins should be preach'd in his Name among all Nations, beginning at Jerusalem: And ye are Witnesses of these things*, Luke 24. 46, 47, 48. which evidently proves that the Gospel ought to be at first preach'd to Infidels, by declaring of Peace, and the remission of Sins that are past, since Christ has given no power or permission to men to punish 'em.

The *Spaniards* have moreover presum'd to maintain that the *Indians* were like brute Beasts, utterly incapable of disciplin, and unfit to receive the light of Christianity. Your Majesty has good reason to punish those that declare such notorious Falshoods: For under this Colour they have obtain'd of your Majesty a power to possess themselves of the *Indies*

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as their absolute Property, and to do the *Indians* what mischief they please. Thus have they impos'd on the Conscience of the most Catholic King; and obtain'd leave to carry away the Inhabitants of the Islands and Countries that lie near *Hispaniola*, and have accordingly forc'd 'em out of their own Country against all Law and Equity; so that an innumerable multitude both of Men and Women that inhabited above fifty Islands, some bigger than the *Canaries*, have been destroy'd, insomuch that there are but eleven Persons left. I have been an Eye-witness of this desolation, as well as *Peter de Lisle*, who is a man of honor and credit, and now a Monk of the Order of *St. Francis*. He built a Brigantine, and man'd it with Sea-men to make a review of those once populous Islands; and they found in all that vast Country but eleven People (as has been said) tho they spent two years in making this Voyage. 'Tis impossible for me to express to your Majesty, on the one hand, the great meekness, goodness of temper, and sincerity of the People of the New World, and on the other, what enormous Ravages and Cruelties the Christians have exercis'd upon 'em. Your Bowels would be mov'd with Compassion, and your heart too much affected, if an exact description of all this were made you.

Cruel Wars have been rais'd in divers rich Provinces, without any fair occasion, but only to gratify the covetous humour of the *Spaniards*: At the same time they flatter themselves that they have Authority from your Majesty to employ force and violence to enslave these People. And all the difference they make between those *Indians* they look upon as their Subjects, and those whom they treat as Slaves, is, that they sell the latter publicly, but use a little more formality about selling the former, by seeking pretences to hide their Injustice. In the unjust Wars they have made

made with 'em, after having kill'd the Masters of Families, they have also murder'd their Wives and Children, and possess'd themselves of all they had. And God is now pleas'd every day to shew us by his severe Chastisements that he has been grievously offended by these Robberies and Cruelties. The Welfare of the *Indians* both as to Body and Soul is in the greatest danger; for if they must be subject to the absolute Power of the *Spaniards*, they'll utterly destroy 'em, without sparing any, so much as to propagate their Race. If the Law of Nature forbids us to commit a Pupil to the charge of one that is a mortal Enemy to him or his Parents, or has embezel'd his Estate, or set him an ill Example; and yet he has been given up to the care of a Person of this Character; the Judges would be oblig'd to rectify the matter, by taking him from under his Conduct, whatever security he offers to give for his fidelity. 'Tis much the same case with the *Indians* in respect of the *Spaniards*, for these would have it believ'd that they are the Guardians, Tutors, and Protectors of the other: tho'tis only a fraudulent pretence to ensnare 'em. The *Indians* know well enough how to govern themselves, without being beholden to Guardians; and the *Spaniards* are no way capable of instructing 'em in the things of Religion, which yet is the main thing the *Indians* want, and the greatest kindness that can be done 'em. And 'tis easy to see what disposition the *Spaniards* have towards 'em, as to their temporal advantage. So that 'tis most certain they are their declar'd Enemies; since they have strip'd 'em of all their Goods, offer'd all sorts of abuses to their Persons, and taken away their Wives and Children, whom they have condemn'd to perpetual Slavery; which course, together with the cruel Wars made upon 'em, has almost quite unpeopled the New World. How is it possible that men that lead

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such kind of Lives, should inspire the *Indians* with the desire of embracing the Law of God, and the love of Virtue, especially seeing they many ways persecute the very Monks, who are so zealous for the Reformation of these Idolaters? On the contrary, the *Spaniards* spare nothing that may debauch 'em, and expose 'em to all sorts of Vice by the evil Patterns they set 'em: They teach 'em to swear and blaspheme the holy Name of God, tho in reality the poor *Indians* don't do it designedly, but only because they hear the *Spaniards* use such Expressions. 'Tis therefore plain that the *Spaniards* ought not to have any Jurisdiction over the *Indians*, if their advantage either as to this Life or that to come be consider'd, seeing they are the mortal Enemies of this People, and think of nothing but how to destroy 'em. It would therefore be a piece of great Injustice to abandon 'em to such Men, when their Disposition toward 'em is so well known; it being a mortal Sin to expose one's Neighbor to evident danger of losing his Life: And we doubt not but your Majesty will be cautious of falling under the guilt of such a Crime, and not give up the *Indians* to the fury of the *Spaniards*.

All just and reasonable Laws, and those Philosophers that have written on Morality are against placing any Government in the hands of necessitous and covetous Men, whose greatest end is to get rid of their Poverty, and to deliver themselves from that mean condition in which they live, and therefore are ready to sacrifice all the obligations of Duty to the desire they have of becoming rich. And because this greedy Passion is continually increasing, and their Minds are wholly set on the ways of heaping up Wealth, and filling their Chests, they find no rest but in satisfying their Avarice. They abhor Poverty as Nature does a *Vacuum*, and therefore

fore have no other thoughts night or day but to contrive means of amassing together as much Treasure as they can. Upon this account the Philosopher determines that 'tis a dangerous thing to put Nations or Provinces under the Government of such as are covetous or needy, who are resolv'd to be rich at any rate in the world. We are inform'd in History that the *Romans* being about to send two Consuls to govern *Spain*, one of whom was poor and the other covetous; when this Affair was propos'd to the Senat, *Scipio Africanus* gave his opinion that neither of 'em was proper to make a Governor, there being reason to fear that both would abuse their Authority to feather their Nests out of the public Stock; because such kind of Persons are like Leeches in a Commonwealth, and make it their principal care to gather something on every side, and to devour the Substance of the People, making themselves rich at their charge, because their covetous Desires can never be satiated as long as they remain in this World: Nay it must be added, that this Vice most commonly proves incurable; so that if Men greedy of Lucre get Authority over any People, they will not fail to spoil and ruin 'em, because the Passion that animates 'em, keeps no bounds or measures. No Laws nor Penalties with which they can be menaced, will be strong enough to restrain 'em, as long as they are invested with Power; and the more successful any covetous Man finds his Industry to be, the more earnestly does he desire and pursue Riches, which he accounts the supreme Good. The desire of being rich produces much the same effect in the mind of a poor covetous Man, as the hope of Celestial Happiness would in that of a good Man; for as this perfectly fills up the Capacity of his Mind that ardently wishes for it, so the Miser's Soul can desire nothing besides

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hoards of Treasure, wherein his Happiness consists, because Money answers all things: For this is that which capacitates Men to undertake the greatest Enterprizes, and to obtain whatever they desire in this World, the highest Employments, Honors and Dignities, costly Habit, and the most delicious Dainties; this facilitates their commission of all sorts of Crimes, gives 'em opportunity to be reveng'd on their Enemies, to acquaint themselves with Persons of great Quality, and to obtain their Favour and Esteem. 'Tis on these accounts that the Men of the world seek it with all their might, and expose themselves to so many Fatigues and Perils, as well as perpetrate the greatest Villanies to procure it.

Now the possession of Riches can never satisfy the Soul, so as to give it perfect content; for 'tis perpetually craving what it does not yet possess. Therefore the Worldling, who has chosen Money for his chief Good and last End, is indifferent as to other things, but devotes himself entirely to this, employing all his care and diligence to increase his Bags; and his thirst of Gold grows more and more violent, by how much the more his Estate swells, according to the Philosopher's Maxim, that Motion is by so much the more impetuous, by how much the nearer it approaches its end.

Avarice is a more incurable Evil than Concupiscence, because its Object, and the things it promises attract the Hearts of Men with greater violence; and the power of Money is of a larger extent, because it puts a Man in a condition to gratify his Lust, whereas this on the other hand can't procure him Riches. The love of Money endures longer on the Mind than the Appetite of sensual Pleasures, how violent and impetuous soever they may be for a time. Covetousness is always on the advance, and seldom extinguish'd but with a Man's Life: For the

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more a Man's natural Infirmities increase, the more the desire of heaping up Wealth fortifies it self; as 'tis observable in old Men, that the nearer they approach their end, the more covetous they usually grow; because as their Health and Strength gradually diminish, they think they have the more need of the assistance of the things of this World.

These Reasons make it evident, that if any Jurisdiction or Government be given to covetous Men, they will not fail to oppress and vex those that are subjected to them, that they may make themselves rich at their costs; and that nothing will hinder 'em from gratifying their Avarice whenever they have a fair occasion; for this Vice is the root and spring of all others, 'tis the source of Treason, Fraud, Perjury, Violence, Rapine, and barbarous Cruelty. This Passion is said to be blind, because it occasions blindness in the Mind, and benights the Reason with the grossest Darkness, and hinders him that is captivated with it from perceiving his danger. The sight of Gold, tho it causes the commission of all manner of Crimes, and is the source of Calumnies, gives him more Joy than the light of the Sun, because he finds his Account in the ruin of others. It excludes Fidelity, and banishes Union and Concord out of the World; it violates Charity, and produces all manner of Mischief; it knows no Compassion, but induces Men to disclaim their very Parents, and break all the ties of Faith and Amity; it never suffers a Man to sympathize with his Neighbour's Miseries, but even makes him disregard his Relations as if utterly unacquainted with them. The covetous Man never forgives himself his own Expences, and leads a miserable Life in the midst of Plenty and Wealth. This greedy humor so darkens the Understandings of those that are bewitch'd by it, that they know not how to make a right Judgment
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of any thing, but instead of following the Dictates of reason, are on all occasions driven down the impetuous Current of their beloved Vice, all their Thoughts and Desires are directed this way, and yet they can never quench the insatiable Thirst that preys upon their Souls.

But I must now apply all these Reasons to the subject in hand: and I beseech your Majesty to give attention to the Consequences I draw from 'em. All the *Spaniards* that leave their own Country to go into the *Indies* are poor, and 'tis only Avarice that drives them thither; for they don't only pretend to raise themselves a little above a condition of Poverty and Want, but to amass vast Treasures together, without setting any Limits to their unmeasurable Covetousness, that they may be able to buy honorable Offices and Employments, and advance themselves far above their degree. We have been taught by experience that in a few years, many *Spaniards* who were in the meanest and basest condition, and always led a miserable Life, have considerably alter'd their fortune by the Riches they have brought from the New World, and likewise introduc'd great corruption of Manners throughout all *Spain*. The love of Money is now grown to that height, that Gold and Silver seem the only Gods that are worship'd. They that know not how to advance themselves by industry and labor, do it by plundering and robbing without any fear of punishment. They take away from the poor *Indians* all they find in their houses, and after all make 'em work to get still more out of their sweat and labor; so that if any Authority over the *Indians* be allow'd 'em, they'll certainly abuse it to enrich themselves, while this detestable covetousness reigns in their minds. And what can the poor *Indians* do to shake off their tyrannical Yoke, since they are naturally meek, quiet and timorous.

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rous, and dare not complain or murmur; or if they should, have no body to hearken to 'em or defend 'em? The *Spaniards* who have an absolute Power, are always chiding and domineering over 'em wherever they are, in the Fields, on the Mountains, in the Mines, in the Desarts, or in the High-Ways. They take all the furniture of their Houses from 'em, which is their greatest Riches, as well as expose 'em to the greatest dangers, and most intolerable Labours, beating and inflicting on 'em the severest Punishments for the least Trifle, when they hope to get any thing by it. What a piece of Injustice then must it be to abandon such meek and submissive Creatures to the fury of such men as these, when they are in no capacity to resist the tyranny of their Persecutors, but are made their meer tools?

What would one say of that Judg, who after he has received information of the violent passion of a wild Spark in the heat of Youth, to a beautiful Virgin, should notwithstanding order 'em to live together in the same house, and give him an absolute power over her, but withal threatening to punish him severely if he offer'd her any violence? Could any one safely confide in the Promises of such a man as this, whatever Protestations he should make of moderating his passion on so critical an occasion? It is not to be doubted but such a Judg would commit a mortal Sin, in thus exposing his Neighbour to so dangerous a Temptation, tho he should happen to abstain from the Sin to which he has so great a propensity. It almost amounts to the same thing to put the *Indians* under the Jurisdiction of the *Spaniards*, who are their mortal Enemies; for if they don't massacre 'em in cold blood merely out of the hatred they bear 'em, they do it however to get their Goods, and rob 'em of their Treasure. And

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as in the former Instance it would be next to a Miracle for that amorous Youth not to abandon himself to the Conduct of his Passion, when the Object of it is committed to his disposal; so 'tis not to be expected that the *Spaniards* should abstain from committing all sorts of Outrages on the *Indians*, and sacrificing both their Estates and Lives to their own Interest, since their Avarice irritates 'em with greater violence (if possible) than Lust does the other in the former case: so that Laws back'd with Menaces and Punishments will make no impressions on the minds of these men, but they'll be sure still to exercise a thousand Cruelties on the poor *Indians*, if no other course be taken to give check to their Covetousness.

I entreat your Majesty to consider what befalls any Province to which you send a Governor. If he be covetous, and regardless both of his Honor or Religion, what Disorders and Mischiefs does he not bring with him? Tho he has not so absolute a Power as the *Spaniards* have over the *Indians* whom they keep in their Houses; tho the Royal Council of *Spain* think themselves concern'd to oppose his Prevarications; and tho the King's Presence one would think should be a strong Bridle to restrain his Exactions: yet in two years time, such a Governor as we have bin describing will become rich, by the Rapine and Extortion he commits in the Province put under his care. What then is it likely the *Spaniards* will do, in the remotest parts of the *Indies*, when they have an unlimited Power over the *Indians*, and neither stand in awe of God nor the King; and when these poor People are under so great apprehension of still more intolerable Cruelties, that they dare not complain of the violence they suffer? And how shall they report their Grievances? shall they go to the Royal Council, which is it may be three or four

hundred Leagues from 'em; or shall they address themselves to your Royal Throne, which is distant above three thousand? What course shall they take to prove the Insults, Vexations and Persecutions they endure from the *Spaniards* in Countries so remote, where they can expect no relief?

The *Spaniards* are so hardn'd by their excessive Avarice, that they are not in the least touch'd with the Groans and Complaints of these miserable People; for nothing makes impression on their minds but Gold and Silver. The Condition to which they advance themselves in the *Indies* is so far above their former state, that it inspires 'em with intolerable Pride and Arrogancy. They pass away their time in pleasure and feasting, and clothe themselves after so sumptuous a manner, that nothing in the World can be more magnificent. And withal it may well be said that nothing can equal the corruption, licentiousness and dissoluteness of their Manners; and to supply all these superfluous Expences and Excesses, they suck out the very Blood of the poor *Indians*. Now seeing there's no hope of obliging the *Spaniards* to alter their Conduct, and both the Laws of God, and right Reason, and all the Maxims of Policy and Prudence oppose the giving of any Government into the hands of covetous and indigent Persons, who are prejudic'd with a violent desire of gain: Much less ought your Majesty to suffer the *Spaniards* to usurp a Title to the *Indians* as their Free-hold, when they are so greedy and insatiable, that they'll make no difficulty to sacrifice all kinds of duty to the desire they have of raking sums of Money together any way in the World. For all their Industry will be employ'd in pillaging their Vassals; and which is yet more to be lamented, while they cruelly deprive 'em of temporal Life, they likewise take a course to expose 'em to eternal Death.

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Therefore your Majesty ought to incorporate the *Indies* with the Inheritance of your Crown, that you may be the universal Father, Protector, Governor and Lord of all the *Indians*.

I add to all the foregoing Reasons, that the *Spaniards* impose intolerable Burdens on the *Indians*, and exact such Services of 'em as reduce 'em to the extremity of misery and despair. 'Tis their first and principal duty to serve and obey their own natural Princes; because this is founded on the Law of Nature. In the second place, they owe your Majesty service and obedience, as being their universal Sovereign; which is an obligation of Divine Right, founded on the Engagement your Majesty has contracted to send 'em the Light of the Gospel, and to take care for their Instruction in the orthodox Faith. The third kind of Service is that which the *Spaniards* oblige 'em to render them whether they will or no, which is a severe and tyrannical Yoke, nay more intolerable than what the Heathen Tyrants impos'd on the primitive Christians; it may be liken'd to the torment the Devils inflict on the Damned in Hell. The Violence of it is contrary to all the Laws of Nature and Reason, nor can it be justified by any human Laws. It must be remembered that the *Indians* are naturally weak, going always naked, and continually expos'd to the heat of the Sun: 'tis therefore contrary to all Justice that they should be oppress'd with heavy Burdens far above their strength, as well as contrary to Charity, and the Custom of all reasonable Men. All the service these poor Creatures do can't satisfy the *Spaniards*, who therefore set an Officer over 'em strictly to inspect their Actions, and render their servitude still more terrible. This Employ is usually bestow'd on some cruel and inexorable Monster, who always stands over 'em to make 'em work the harder, and punctually to obey all his

Commands. The Executioners of the divine Wrath in Hell can't be more wicked and hard-hearted than this sort of Men: They brand 'em with hot Irons, and are continually beating and abusing 'em; they are not content to make 'em labor without intermission, and to set 'em unreasonable Tasks, but always reproach and chide 'em while they undergo this Toil, and besides all this, violate their Wives and Daughters, or make Presents of many of 'em together to their Masters on whom they depend, and who set 'em to work as so many principal Tyrants, who also make it their business to invent cruel and unsufferable Torments. And to hinder the *Indians* from complaining of their Miseries, they threaten to inform against 'em, that they have seen 'em worship their Idols. This is the sad state to which these People are reduc'd. They depend on no less than four several Masters, on your Majesty, their *Caciques*, the *Spaniard* to whom they are enslav'd, and his Deputy, who is the greatest Plague to 'em that can be. Nay, 'tis impossible to tell how many Masters they have, seeing all the *Spaniards* domineer over 'em as so many Tyrants, robbing 'em by turns, and making no scruple cruelly to abuse and murder 'em.

Seeing the preaching of the Orthodox Faith is the only thing that could warrant the reduction of the *Indians* to a state of dependance on any foreign Power, in order to their Conversion; and seeing none can pretend on this account to be their lawful Sovereign but your Majesty; it follows that your Majesty ought with all your might to oppose the Power which private Men assume over 'em, and which can't be look'd upon as any better than Tyranny. Your Majesty is oblig'd for the common good of all your Subjects to establish a regular and stable form of Government among 'em, which may

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conduce to their Conversion and Salvation: and seeing the sovereign and single Power you have over 'em is sufficient for the end propos'd, other Jurisdictions are not to be tolerated, because they can only prove burdensom and incommodious, and contrary to the common Maxims of Government receiv'd in the World, which will not allow a People to be subject to several different Princes; much less should the *Indians* be thus subjected, because of their Poverty, Meekness, Patience, Humility, and the tenderness of their Constitution, partly occasion'd by their going naked, their unwholesom Food, and the Labor they undergo to get their living. After all this 'twould be sufficiently tedious and uneasy to 'em if no other Duties were exacted of 'em than those which your Majesty and their *Caciques*, who are their immediate Princes, impose. How then can they be able to endure those excessive Tasks, those heavy Blows, Vexations and Abuses of which we have spoken above? If your Majesty has a mind to preserve the *Indians* from utter Destruction, these new Burdens ought not to be impos'd on 'em, nor should they be condemn'd to this severe Slavery. This would be to violate the Laws of Justice and Charity: For the Masters of Policy and Prudence usually say, that tho a Prince require extraordinary assistance of his Subjects in some pressing Exigencies of the Commonwealth; yet where these Subjects are under other subordinate and immediate Lords, to whom they are oblig'd to pay the same Duties, this cannot be done, because this would be to overcharge 'em with endless Taxes: for 'tis contrary to all Justice to oppress 'em with a double Burden, and all good Laws formally condemn it; for the Rules of Equity forbid all Oppression and Injury. Therefore since the *Indians* are already bound to serve their natural and immediate Princes, and to pay 'em

all the homage and duty of Subjects, it would be unjust to subject 'em to such new Masters as pretend to a right of exacting new Services of 'em. The Taxes that are impos'd on any Estate should be proportionate to the Revenue that may be expected from it; and there ought not to be more Homage and Service annex'd to it than is reasonable for the advantage of him that owns that Estate. If inanimate things have this privilege, how much more ought it to be so with Men, who deserve to be us'd a little better? Since therefore your Majesty's Government alone is sufficient for the welfare and advantage of the *Indians*, to set other Lords over 'em would be to act contrary to Justice. For who can deny it to be contrary to all the Laws of Equity, to subject the *Indians* to the *Spaniards*, who mind nothing but to raise Estates by making a Prey of 'em? An 'tis as opposit to Charity to add new Burdens to them that can scarce bear such as are already impos'd upon 'em, and to increase the Calamities of such as are sufficiently beset with Affliction, besides the pains they take for the subsistence of their Wives and Children. Charity teaches to do to others as we would have them do to us, to secure 'em from all the Evil we can, and to relieve 'em in their Indigence when they address themselves to us, and shew us their Necessities, because we our selves are desirous of the Assistance of others, when in distress. The Laws of Christ are founded on such Maxims as these: *Do to others what you would have others do to you*; and, *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self*; in which one word, St. Paul says, the whole Law is contain'd. He farther says, *Bear ye one another's Burdens, and so fulfil the Law of Christ*.

It is to be consider'd, that all the Inhabitants of the New World are born free: Nor do they lose this Liberty in recognizing your Majesty for their

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Sovereign, and universal Emperor of the *Indies*. On the contrary, if there be any defects in their Polity, your Majesty's Government may supply 'em, by which their Liberty will be render'd the more compleat. This was the design of that most Christian Princess, Queen *Isabella*, as appears by all the Writings she left about this Affair. A few days before her Death she commanded General *d'Alcantara*, then Governor of *Hispaniola*, to treat all the *Indians* as a free People. And in a general Assembly of Divines and Lawyers held at *Burgos*, his Catholic Majesty declar'd in Council, that the Inhabitants of *America* were free, and commanded they should be treated as such. The same was done by your Majesty, after having consulted the most learned Divines and Canonists in the year 1523.

Now if it be an incontestable Principle that all the *Indians* are free, and that all of 'em that have been, or shall be discover'd in time to come, can't be subjected to any other Jurisdiction but that of your Majesty, and that they owe to your Majesty alone that Homage and Obedience which free Cities and Nations are oblig'd to pay their lawful Sovereign, 'tis most evident that no private Men can pretend to the same. Nay, they are more free in respect of us than other Nations, because the Kings of *Spain* have no Title to 'em as their Subjects by right of Inheritance, or that of Purchase, or of Conquest, as they might have had, if they had been conquer'd in a lawful War, that had bin formally declar'd, for the revenge of some great Offence which the *Indians* might have committed against the *Spaniards*, or against the universal Church, or some very considerable Member of it, for which they had refus'd Satisfaction when demanded: or if they had unjustly retain'd any Lands or Goods of which they were unlawfully possess'd.

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But on the contrary, they have frankly and voluntarily submitted themselves to your Majesty. And yet they have bin hitherto not only neglected, but treated by the *Spaniards*, as wild Beasts are by Hunters, tho they never did any thing to deserve such ill usage. They have yet seen nothing to convince 'em of your Majesty's Grandure, Justice, Goodness, and Magnificence, having found nothing but Tyranny, Violence, Injustice and Cruelty from the *Spaniards* your Subjects, whose ill Actions and bad Examples render 'em infamous; so that the *Indians* look upon 'em as the vilest of Men. And this makes 'em think upon the Kings of *Spain* with horror, who yet never gave 'em occasion to entertain such thoughts of 'em. But they fancy your Majesty perfectly knows all the ill treatment they endure, and that 'tis by your Consent and Approbation; they believe 'tis all done by your order, and that you give your Protection and Favour to those that insult over 'em.

The Title your Majesty has to the *Indians* is founded only on the Obligation you have taken upon your self to have 'em instructed into the true Faith, as appears by the Apostolic Briefs granted on this account: which ought to engage your Majesty to moderate your Government so much the more, and to treat 'em with the greater tenderness and kindness. The Kings of *Spain* should signalize the First-fruits of their Sovereignty over the *Indies*, by the tokens of Peace and Love to these People, and by taking care to furnish 'em with good Examples: In a word, they ought to treat 'em as their Neighbors and natural Subjects, for fear the commission of any Injustice or Cruelty among 'em should prejudice 'em against the Christian Faith, and indispose 'em to receive the Counsils and Maxims of our Religion. There should not be the least occasion

sion given 'em on any account to blaspheme the Name of God, which would be an Obstacle to the great end of their Conversion. Nothing should be left undone, that may make 'em love your Majesty, and induce 'em to praise God on finding themselves under a Government so easy and commodious. They deserve in some respect to be dealt with after this manner, because of the freedom of their birth, which makes it unjust for any to violate their Liberty. 'Tis necessary for the Honor of the Christian Religion, that they embrace it voluntarily, because God himself will have men make a free choice in matters of Religion; nor is any man whatsoever to be treated with violence in this case, and forc'd to embrace a Religion against his Will. And temporal Princes commit a great piece of injustice, if they put a force on the minds of their Subjects in a business wherein they ought to have an entire liberty of Conscience: they should rather observe the Rules which God, the Universal Sovereign of all his Creatures, has constituted. There is no Power or Authority on Earth that has a right to violate the Liberty of any People, because 'tis the most valuable thing they possess, and preferable to all other things in the World. Hence it is there are such advantageous Constitutions in the Civil Law in favor of Liberty. And the particular Customs of the Kingdom of *Spain* prescribe that nothing be determin'd in prejudice of a Man's Liberty in doubtful things, nor the least force or constraint put upon men that are free. And when their consent to any thing is violently extorted, it ought not to be imputed to 'em, because 'tis an infringement of the Law of Nature.

If 'tis unlawful to seize on the Goods of Men that are free without cause, much more is it to offer violence to their Persons, and to enslave 'em, which is

is the greatest Injury they can receive next to the loss of Life it self. If a Father can't choose himself another Heir without the consent of his Son, who has a natural Title either to the whole, or at least a 4th part of his Father's Estate; much less may inferior Lords pretend to a right of appropriating the Kings Subjects to themselves, unless his Majesty consent by abandoning his own Right, which is founded on the voluntary Agreement of his Subjects. If the current Mony of the Kingdom can't be alter'd without the People's consent, because the alteration may be attended with great Inconveniences; much less can the People themselves be taken from the Dominion of the King against their Will, and subjected to the absolute Power of private Masters; because this forc'd Change is a Violation of their Liberty. It must be farther added, that such as are tributary to your Majesty, can't pass under the Jurisdiction of another Person, which would be more uneasy and disadvantageous to 'em, and under which they would perhaps be condemn'd to a more servile and laborious Course of life. How much more ought they who enjoy an entire liberty under any Prince's Government, to be preserv'd in the possession of their Privileges; and how injurious would it be to deliver 'em up as Vassals to particular Lords, who would probably abuse their Authority, and treat their Persons with violence, as well as greatly prejudice 'em in their Estates? 'Tis most injurious both to the Lives and Liberties of Men, to depend on divers Lords and Masters, because their Service and Labors multiply according to the number of those under whose jurisdiction they are: And 'tis to be presum'd they will not be all alike just and equitable.

'Tis very much the Interest of Princes, not to suffer the number of their Subjects to be diminish'd, because

because it will deprive 'em of much of the advantage and service they may reasonably expect from 'em. And 'tis as much the Interest of Subjects, not to suffer themselves to be transfer'd from the Dominion of the Prince under which they have always liv'd, to that of an inferior Master. Those that know the difference between the Government of Kings, and that of particular Lords, which is usually hard and severe, will do any thing to be secure from the latter; while they are well pleas'd with the former, and readily dispose themselves to bear a Yoke that appears so much easier and lighter than the other. And this is the reason why the generality of Men do all they can to avoid falling under the dominion of private Men to the prejudice of that Royal Jurisdiction to which they have been continually accusom'd. And this Sentiment is justified by the suffrage of all wise Men, and favor'd by all just Laws.

'Tis a general Rule, that a Prince can do nothing that may cause any considerable damage to his Subjects, unless they freely give their own consent: And this your Majesty every day observes, wherein you follow the steps of your Ancestors, who to avoid doing any thing contrary to the rules of Justice and Equity, frequently us'd to assemble their Council, and to take their advice who were Persons of great Wisdom and Sense, and to make a due improvement of it. In the present affair, it would be injurious to the *Indians* to give 'em up to the *Spaniards* as their Vassals, because they use 'em so barbarously, and reduce 'em to the utmost degree of Servitude. And such a matter as this is not to be concluded, without proposing it to the *Indians*, and obtaining their consent. For thus to change their condition without consulting 'em, were to put a treacherous trick upon 'em against the Laws of Nature,

ture, Justice and Charity, because this subjection would be to a severe and tyrannical Power; as is evident by what the *Indians* have hitherto met with from the *Spaniards*. Beside, such an alteration would be contrary to the Will and Law of God, because it would hinder the progress of the Catholic Faith, and inspire the *Indians* with hatred to the Gospel, and would tend to the general destruction of those People whom your Majesty is bound to preserve and protect. This you owe 'em from a motive of Charity and Zeal for the good of your Neighbor, as you are a Christian Prince, and moreover by the Obligation of your Office, as the Vice-gerent of Jesus Christ.

From all the Reasons alledg'd, it may well be concluded, that if even the *Indians* themselves would voluntarily consent to be enslav'd, and utterly renounce their Liberty; yet this consent of theirs would be void and null of it self, because a thing every way so mischievous ought by no means to be tolerated. Your Majesty would be oblig'd by the Law of God to hinder 'em from ruining themselves in such a manner; because the Tyranny the *Spaniards* exercise over 'em is so great, that many of the *Indians* have fallen into utter despair under their unsufferable Impositions, and chosen rather to stab or poison themselves than to pine away gradually under their miserable Bondage: Others have fled into the Mountains, where they have become a Prey to Tigers and Lions; others have died merely with Sorrow and Anguish, when they found they were condemn'd to a Life so full of Misery and Toil, without any hope of respite or mitigation. I knew a *Spaniard* who was so famous for his Cruelty, that above two hundred People kill'd themselves, some one way and some another, to avoid his Barbarities in *Hispaniola*: A like number underwent the same fate

fate in the Isle of *Cuba*, where this Tyrant exercis'd his Violence and Rapine.

But tho the common Interest of all Nations in the World ought to prevent their Kings from alienating them from their own Dominion to make 'em the Vassals and Subjects of private Men, and tho this is founded on natural Reason and Justice; yet sometimes in pressing Exigencies Princes may alienate a part of their Territories to extricate themselves out of some great and perplexing difficulty, from which they cannot otherwise get free. For instance, if they have no other course to take for the defence of the Commonwealth, it seems lawful for 'em to exchange the Jurisdiction they have over their Subjects, provided they some way indemnify 'em, or repair any damage this exchange may occasion. But 'twould be impossible to indemnify the *Indians* if they should be left to the Dominion of the *Spaniards*, who bring upon 'em inexpressible Calamities and Mischiefs, that can never be repair'd by any advantage they may allow 'em; for they take a course to destroy both their Souls and Bodies. Therefore seeing the Conversion of the *Indians* depends principally on your Majesty's Title and Jurisdiction over 'em, you ought not to do any thing that may blast the hope of this Design, and will infallibly hinder these People from embracing Christianity. And it must be remember'd they have freely and willingly chose your Majesty for their Sovereign, which is a kind of Contract they have made with your Majesty, that cannot be violated without their Consent, unless it be to put 'em in a condition more easy, advantageous and secure, than what they enjoy under your Majesty's Dominion. And your Majesty is oblig'd to promise and swear to 'em, that you will always preserve their Privileges, as they are ordinarily kept in the generality of Kingdoms, when a free People submit

submit themselves to the Government of a new King. This Practice is almost as antient as the World, for ever since Men began to spread themselves upon the face of the Earth, it has always been the custom of Princes to promise and swear to 'em to employ all their Power in preserving and defending 'em from Oppression. Which evidently proves that your Majesty has not power to give up the *Indians* to the absolute Dominion of the *Spaniards*, who have had the cruelty to destroy such numerous Nations of 'em, without any legal Process, or leave to make their Defence. For it would be to act contrary to the Law of God and Nature to expose 'em to so many Miseries, which are as so many invincible Obstructions to hinder 'em from turning Christians. Nor is there any Prince on Earth, who can justly pretend to have such a Power: for Sovereign Princes have no Authority to do any thing that may provoke the Justice of God, who has not set 'em over their People for their ruin and destruction, or for the overthrow of the Church; but on the contrary has set 'em in the World to defend the Church, to bring their People to espouse the true Faith, and edify 'em in it.

Reason and the Law of Nature direct that those who have made an ill use of the Privileges granted to 'em, should be depriv'd of 'em. Now the Jurisdiction allow'd the *Spaniards* over the *Indians* was only on condition they would instruct 'em in Religion, and defend 'em from their Enemies; and they have not only fallen short of this Engagement, but even barbarously abus'd those they were oblig'd to protect. 'Tis remarkable in the Laws of *Spain*, that if a Master treats any one of his Slaves inhumanly, he is oblig'd to sell him, because 'tis but just that he who tyrannizes over his Subjects should lose his Jurisdiction over 'em, which of right devolves

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on the Prince. He that abuses his Title is not worthy to possess it: and a Man neither owes Homage nor Obedience to a Tyrant. So that your Majesty ought in quality of Sovereign Lord of the People of the New World, to defend 'em, and do 'em Justice, when they are wrong'd; and consequently to rescue 'em from the power of the *Spaniards*, that they may enjoy their Liberty.

'Tis moreover a Custom establish'd by the Laws of *Spain*, That if the King grant any Privilege contrary to the Catholic Faith, 'tis null and void, as much as if it were contrary to the civil Good and Welfare of the Kingdom, or to the Rights of any particular Persons. And the same account is to be made of any Privilege given contrary to the Law of Nature: as for example, if a King should take away any private Man's Estate, to bestow it on another. Therefore your Majesty cannot divest the natural Princes of the *Indians* of their Dominion over 'em, to invest the *Spaniards* with it, who not only are Foreigners to 'em, but also treat 'em after a tyrannical manner. 'Tis therefore necessary for your Majesty to revoke so unjust a Privilege, destructive to the People, and directly opposit to the Catholic Faith, as well as to your Majesty's Service, the advantage of your Kingdom in general, the good of many Members of the Commonwealth in particular, and which is contrary to Reason, and the Law of Nature.

'Tis farther constituted by the Customs of *Spain*, in conformity to the Imperial Laws of your Majesty, as well as those of the Church, that when a Privilege in process of time proves injurious, and occasions more hurt than good, it ought to be immediately abolish'd, without so much as consulting the Prince that granted it; because from that very moment wherein this Privilege began to be detrimental,

mental, it ought to be suppos'd the Prince design'd to revoke it: so that it can have no more force or authority, because not according to the Prince's Intention, who always ought to have Equity and the Divine Will in view. Now since the Privilege granted the *Spaniards* to subject the *Indians* as Vassals is become so pernicious, and occasions an irreparable damage to the Christian Religion, and to the Crown of *Spain*, and has bin the cause of the ruin of such vast numbers of People, and of the desolation of some of the finest Countries in the World; and seeing in all appearance it is the very reason of those Calamities with which God is now afflicting *Spain*, 'tis necessary to apply a speedy Remedy, and to go to the root of the Disease, in revoking so pernicious and tyrannical a Grant.

Besides, the Dominion of the *Spaniards* over the *Indians* has never bin judicially approv'd by the Kings of *Spain*. He that first shar'd these poor People among 'em, as if they had been so many Sheep, had no order to make this distribution, which absolutely desolated and unpeopled *New Spain*, but exceeded the limits of his Power; so that no just Consequence can be drawn from what he did. It was the great General *d'Alcantara* who began this irregular course in *America*. In the year 1502, the most serene King *Ferdinando* and Queen *Isabella* sent General *De-Larés* from *Grenada* to govern the new Conquests: At which time there were but three hundred Christians in the Island of *Hispaniola*. This Governor was expressly charg'd to treat the *Indians* as free Nations; to be very kind, tender and charitable toward 'em, to do 'em exact Justice on all occasions, and not to impose too severe a Yoke on 'em, or to enslave 'em; in a word, to protect 'em from all Injuries, lest any Violence should prove a Stumbling-block to divert 'em from entertaining the

the Christian Faith, and inspire 'em with an aversion to the Professors of it. General *De-Larés* carried with him three thousand *Spaniards*, who landed at *St. Domingo*, where they soon found themselves reduc'd to great straits for want of Food. However, the strict Orders he had receiv'd would not permit him to do any Violence to the *Indians*, or to infringe their Liberty in the least; upon which he writes many things to the Queen against the *Indians*, hoping to render 'em odious to her by his Lies and Slanders, that he might have leave to abuse the poor Wretches at his pleasure. Among other things he wrote, that it would be impossible to preach the Christian Faith to 'em as long as they were suffer'd to enjoy an entire Freedom, because they industriously avoided all manner of acquaintance with the Christians; in so much that they refus'd to work for 'em, tho they offer'd 'em Wages for their Labor, and chose rather to wander up and down as Vagabonds, than to keep company with Christians to inform themselves of their Religion. As if he thought the *Indians* were oblig'd to divine that there was a new Religion to be preach'd to 'em, which they ought to embrace; or that they ought, as poor as they are, to forsake their Houses, Wives and Children, and to leave their Lands unmanur'd, to come to seek the *Spaniards*, and so expose themselves to die with Hunger in a Journey it may be of two hundred Leagues or more; or as if they were under any obligation to undergo the fatigue of bringing Provision to the *Spaniards* such a tedious way as this.

His Majesty, who was sincerely zealous for the Salvation of these Idolaters, and publishing the Name of Christ in the New World, answer'd the General after this manner: "We very ardently desire the Conversion of the *Indians* to our holy Faith,

“ Faith, and that they be taught the Mysteries of
 “ the Catholic Religion; and think it necessary to
 “ the success of this Design, that the *Indians* and
 “ *Spaniards* converse and live together. Therefore
 “ we by these Presents command you to oblige the
 “ *Indians* to deal with the *Spaniards* of *Hispaniola*,
 “ and to have Conversation with ’em, to assist ’em
 “ in building their Houses, and in getting Gold and
 “ other Metals out of the Mines, and to pay ’em
 “ their Wages exactly, according to their labor
 “ and desert. You shall likewise order every *Cacique*
 “ to have a certain number of *Indians* always
 “ in a readiness to be employ’d in such Work as
 “ shall be assign’d ’em, provided that care be taken
 “ to preach to ’em, and instruct ’em in the Word
 “ of God on all Holy-days, and that they be always
 “ treated as Free-men, and not as Slaves; and be-
 “ sure let them meet with no ill usage, nor have any
 “ occasion to complain: Yet let some distinction be
 “ still made in favor of such as embrace the Faith.
 “ But let no Person be permitted to wrong ’em, or
 “ give ’em the least disgust in any thing whatsoever.
 These are the very words of the Letter which the
 King sent to the Governor of the *Indies*, by which
 his Majesty sufficiently signified that his principal
 design in the *Indies* was the Salvation of those Ido-
 lators, and that for that end they should converse
 with the *Spaniards*, which plainly proves he had no
 other regard to this Commerce betwixt the Christi-
 ans and these Infidels, but only as a necessary means
 for their Conversion. And it must be farther ob-
 serv’d, that when the King gives order to oblige
 each *Cacique* to send the *Spaniards* a certain number
 of *Indians* to work for ’em, on condition of being
 paid for their Labor, he did not intend that all the
 Men in the *Indies* should be bound to perform such
 Tasks, much less that the Women, Children, old

Men;

Men, and Chiefs of each Nation, whom the *Indians*
 look upon as their natural Princes, should be thus
 treated. The King design’d there should be due
 consideration had of their Necessities, that they
 should have liberty to provide for their Wives and
 Children, and go every night home to refresh them-
 selves with their Families, and sleep in their own
 Houses. And it may be farther remark’d in the
 King’s Patent, that he did not in the least design
 the *Indians* should be made to work every day and
 without intermission, seeing it provides they should
 be paid daily after their Labor; his intention was
 that they should be engag’d by fair means to do
 what was requir’d of ’em, and not forc’d to it whe-
 ther they would or no; in short, that they should
 be us’d in all respects as a free People. Besides, the
 King commanded that all their Labors should be
 moderate, and proportionate to their Strength, and
 that they should rest on Holy-days and Sundays, that
 their Wages should be suitable to their Work, suffi-
 cient to encourage ’em in taking pains, and to re-
 lieve their Families in all their domestick Necessi-
 ties.

If the King had a perfect account of the nature
 of the Land in the *Indies*, of the Weakness, Pover-
 ty, Meekness and good humor of the Inhabitants,
 of the rigor and severity of their Labors, and the
 great difficulty of getting Gold out of the Mines;
 if he knew the desolate state in which they are often
 left, and the little care taken to engage ’em to re-
 ceive the Sacraments before they die, he would
 without doubt employ some effectual means to put
 an end to these Disorders. The first Admiral of
 the *Indies*, who made the discovery of this New
 World, though he acted conformably to the King’s
 Interest in rendering the *Indians* of *New Spain* tri-
 butary, by obliging ’em to dig a certain quantity

of Gold out of the Mines, and condemning others that were remote from any Mines to other kinds of Tribute. Some of the *Spaniards* he carried with him, shook off the Obedience they ow'd the King, and set up for so many Tyrants, committing Violence and Spoil beyond what can be easily imagin'd in the Province of *Xavagua*, one of the finest and most populous Countries in the *Indies*. The King being inform'd of these Ravages, wrote his mind to General *De-Larés*, and order'd him to put a stop to the Cruelty and Violence of the *Spaniards* on the *Indians*, and to govern 'em as a free People, which Orders were not well executed: For the *Spaniards* shut up the *Indians* by force in the Mines, to employ 'em in the toilsom work of digging for Gold, which requires a very robust Constitution: And when they had got this Gold, they were forc'd to be all day in the Water to wash it. At first the *Indians* were kept in the Mines for a whole year, till the *Spaniards* found they were not able to endure such hard and continual Labor, and therefore gave 'em some time of respite, contenting themselves to keep 'em only for five Months in digging Gold, after which they employ'd 'em forty days in melting it. This they pretended was a time of rest for these poor Creatures, tho this latter sort of Work is more toilsom than that of grubbing up of Roots, and clearing Ground that is over-run with Wood: so that they don't know what a Holy-day or Sunday means throughout the whole year. They are sometimes almost famish'd, having nothing given 'em save a few dry Roots that yield but little Nourishment: Tho the most liberal of the *Spaniards* distribute a Porker once a week among half a hundred *Indians*, which is little more than every one a taste. Nay some of 'em have not been willing to give the *Indians* that serv'd 'em any thing at all to eat, but

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out of mere Avarice sent 'em to feed like Beasts in the fields, or to gather fruit upon the Mountains, after which they forc'd 'em to work two or three days together without eating. One Man frankly confess'd to me that he had got a great Estate in a little time by this kind of frugality. What strength can Bodies that are naturally of a tender Constitution be suppos'd to have when fed after this manner, and oppress'd besides with excessive Labor? 'Tis impossible they should subsist long under this cruel Bondage; which makes 'em lead a sorrowful, languishing and miserable Life, being destitute both of convenient Food and Rest.

Tho the King order'd each *Indian* to be paid in proportion to his Work, that they might have something to live on, and be capable of buying themselves Necessaries; this Command has been ill observ'd, for they had nothing at all for many years; so that they were put to the greatest Extremity, and suffer'd Hunger to that degree that they desir'd nothing more than to die, that they might find an end of their Miseries. These are the Calamities the poor *Indians* have suffer'd in the Service of Christians, who have had no regard either to their Souls or Bodies.

As for those Orders that have been given the *Spaniards* to treat the *Indians* as a free People, not to over-charge 'em with Labor, not to do 'em any Injustice, and to let 'em mind their own Affairs, and order their business as they saw good, they have bin no more heeded than the other. For they have been made mere Slaves, and certainly have not so much liberty as Beasts. And the *Spaniards*, as good Christians as they are, are not at all mov'd by all the Calamities these poor Wretches undergo, but look upon them as the vilest of Slaves, and not fit to have the liberty of doing any thing they have a mind to

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do. They are constantly expos'd to the Cruelty of these Tyrants, and not treated like human Creatures, but wild Beasts, who are kept in Chains by their Owners, and dispos'd of at their pleasure. If they sometimes let 'em go to their own Country, they will not suffer 'em to carry their Wives and Children with 'em, nor hardly any thing to eat; so that they are presently constrain'd to return, while the Reflection they make on their deplorable Condition often makes 'em desire death to relieve 'em. If the excessive Labors impos'd on 'em make 'em sick, as it often happens (because, as I have observ'd, the natural Temper of their Bodies is none of the strongest) the *Spaniards* do not in the least pity their Condition, but oppress 'em with intolerable Tasks, reproaching 'em as lazy, and only feigning themselves ill to be excus'd from Labor. And when they see their Sickness increase, so that they become unserviceable, they send 'em to their own Country, which is sometimes forty or fifty Leagues distance, giving 'em nothing but a few sapless Roots to eat by the way, so that they often die miserably, not being able to accomplish such a Journey. Sometimes we find some of 'em on the Road just ready to expire, others groaning hideously in the Agonies of Death, and others quite dead. Those of 'em that are able to speak, say nothing but *Hunger, Hunger*. Your Majesty by this account may see that the Governor of the New World had little regard to the Orders that were given him, to treat the *Indians* as a free People.

That Governor was expressly charg'd not to do any thing to the *Indians* that might hinder 'em from receiving the Principles of the Christian Religion, or prejudice their Lives or Health, because the King had no design to destroy 'em: yet this Man saw infinite numbers of 'em perish that were employ'd in melting

melting of Gold. The Labors exacted of 'em were like a furious Pestilence, which cuts off multitudes of People in a little time; and yet this sad Spectacle could not engage him to revoke his cruel Orders, or so much as mitigate the severity of 'em. However he knew well enough that he was not able to excuse his Proceedings either before God or the King, being expressly contrary to the Charge that had been given him; and therefore us'd so much Subtilty and Artifice in the management of this Affair, that none of his Cruelties on the *Indians* were known in *Spain* for those seven years in which he tyranniz'd over the New World. They that came after him, trod in his steps by destroying the *Indians*, tho' his Catholic Majesty recommended it to 'em to induce the *Indians* to receive the Catholic Faith, by shewing all kindness to 'em, and not to make War upon 'em on the account of Religion, or to constrain 'em to embrace Christianity by force, but rather to treat 'em as the King's Liege People, imposing a certain Tribute on 'em, as on his other Subjects. All this was express'd in the Instructions given to *Pedrarias*, when he was made Governor of the *Indies*; notwithstanding which he enter'd *America* just as a hungry Wolf falls on a flock of Sheep, and made horrible slaughters on all sides, using such unheard of Torments, and making such waste and spoil, that nothing like it is to be found in any History. He might have been look'd upon as a heavy Plague, sent by God to execute his Wrath in extirpating the *Indians*. This Man, and those that accompanied him, cheated your Majesty of five or six Millions of Gold, and 'tis impossible to compute the Spoil they made in the *Indies*. They depopulated a Country of above four hundred Leagues, as rich, fertile and pleasant as any in the World. All this Tyranny was us'd to make the *Indians* deliver up
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all their Gold: But by the just Judgment of God they made no great advantage of their Robberies; and it would have bin more for their interest to have kept the *Indians* alive, and to have made a considerable Profit out of their hard Labors. If a particular account should be given your Majesty of all the Disorders committed by the *Spaniards* in the noble Province of *Nicaragua*, your Majesty would be astonish'd; and if they had not still continued their Tyranny over these poor People, every day killing and destroying 'em, I should not have expos'd my self to the fatigue of so tedious and troublesome a Voyage, to give your Majesty an account of it. When your Majesty is assur'd that the *Spaniards* have depopulated so many vast and noble Kingdoms, and that they still continue to destroy whatever escap'd the fury of former Governors; when you are convinc'd that they have carried Fire and Sword through seven Kingdoms that are larger than *Spain*, your Majesty will easily be perswaded that what I have said is no Exaggeration. I have seen these Kingdoms in a manner as full of People as Hives are of Bees, where now there are none to be found, having been all murder'd by the *Spaniards*; so that there are only naked Walls and empty Houses to be seen in many once populous Cities. The Orders given by the most Catholic Queen *Isabella* to General *De-Larés* were very prudent and useful, but he did not think fit to observe 'em; and the Relation he gave the King and Queen of matters from time to time, were very far from Truth, tho supported by the Testimony of divers *Indians*. He acted quite contrary to the Instructions given him, violating all the Rules of the Law of Nature and Reason; by which 'tis evident he went beyond his Commission, and prevaricated in those Letters he directed to the Council of *Spain*, by intermixing

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Falshoods in his account, and disguising what was true. And 'tis certain if your Majesty had been inform'd how tyrannically this Governor treated the *Indians*, you would never have entrusted your Authority in his hands; and by consequence your Majesty is oblig'd to declare that you detest the Proceedings of this Governor as unjust and tyrannical, and to abrogate all he has done, and declare that the *Indians* ought not to have been subjected to the Dominion of particular Men, and that all the Injuries they have suffer'd are contrary to the Law of God and Nature, as well as to the Imperial and Canon Laws; seeing they have been tormented in their Persons, molested in their Liberty and Estates, and condemn'd to die. Your Majesty is oblig'd, as you are a just Prince, and an Enemy to Violence, to suppress these vexatious Practices, and to deliver the poor *Indians* from the Tyranny of those that have oppress'd and tormented 'em.

If your Majesty neglect to take this cruel Yoke from their Necks, they will infallibly perish. And that lovely Country which is naturally fruitful and populous will soon become a vast Desert; for the *Spaniards* that go thither, don't go to people the Country, but to enrich themselves by pillaging it. Those that have lately gon into *Hispaniola*, and other depopulated places, and carried thither the Commodities of *Europe*, have not been able to dispose of 'em, there not being People to buy 'em: So that these Disorders are directly opposit to your Majesty's Interest; for what advantage can you receive from the ruin of those People? And what will the World say of so just a Prince as your Majesty, if when you are inform'd of the mischief don by your Subjects in those vast Kingdoms, and among such multitudes of People, you should not apply suitable Remedies to so dangerous a Disease? It can't

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be thought that your Majesty, whose Mind abounds with so much Goodness, and so great a Zeal for Equity and Justice, can tolerate such cruel Oppressions as these.

To what has been said, it may be added, to demonstrate that the power the *Spaniards* have over the *Indians* is prejudicial to the Crown of *Spain*, that by this means your Majesty loses an infinit number of Subjects, who are every day cut off without any lawful occasion; whereas if suffer'd to live, they would cheerfully submit to your Majesty's Government when they saw the difference between your Majesty's Yoke, and that Slavery in which they are held by their private Masters. If your Majesty had once receiv'd 'em into the number of your Subjects, so that they might be secur'd from the inhuman Severities they now daily endure, they would love and serve your Majesty with incredible Zeal, being naturally inclin'd to be very submissive to their Princes.

Your Majesty may farther consider, that you lose immense Riches by the cruel depopulation of the *Indies*, which otherwise you might justly acquire; for 'tis impossible for the *Spaniards* to subsist long in the *Indies*, if the Natives be exterminated. And those Treasures sufficient to enrich all *Spain*, would be no small advantage to promote your Designs, and enable you to resist your Enemies. If there come no Money from the *Indies*, but that Spring of Treasure be suffer'd to dry up, *Spain* must necessarily sustain great Inconveniences for want of it. Experience already shews that the *Indies* don't furnish us with so great a quantity as in time past, and 'tis likely to diminish more and more for time to come. Besides, the manner of extorting it from the *Indians* can't possibly last long, because 'tis too violent a course. The Isle of *Hispaniola* is an unexceptionable

Instance

Instance of what I say; for whereas above three Millions of very fine Gold were drawn out of it at first, it cannot now afford the tenth part of that Sum. The least Reflection your Majesty can make will easily convince you how your Revenues every day diminish. Your Majesty has nothing certain and stable in the *Indies*, if the Land be not cultivated, and the Inhabitants preserv'd for those Labors that are so advantageous. You have now but a small number of *Indians* in all *New Spain*, from whence your Majesty might annually have drawn a Million of Ducats, if the *Indians* had been preserv'd, and your Majesty's Interest at first regarded. There have been yet greater Confusions and Disorders in *Peru*, and the Mischief daily increases; from which Kingdom your Majesty might yearly receive two or three Millions of Gold if the *Indians* were not treated with so much Injustice and Inhumanity, many of 'em having been murder'd, together with their great King *Atabalipa*. All the Gold the Christians have taken by force in *Peru* would of right have belong'd to your Majesty, because that *Indian* Prince would have voluntarily presented himself to your Majesty with all his Treasures. The Church has likewise receiv'd great damage by these Cruelties; for as your Majesty has been frustrated of those immense Riches, so the Church has lost an infinit number of Souls who have perish'd in their Ignorance, when they might have been taught the Mysteries of our Faith: so that the Losses sustain'd both by Church and State are irreparable.

The Kingdom of *Spain*, which your Majesty rules with so much Equity, is surrounded with Enemies, and in danger of being wasted and ruin'd by the *Turks* and *Moors*, those declar'd Enemies of the Catholic Faith: Because God, who is the just Judge and Sovereign Lord of the Universe, is grievously
offended

offended with the Violence and Massacres which the *Spaniards* have committed in the *Indies*, where they have oppress'd and slaughter'd innumerable multitudes of People. These *Indians* have rational Souls form'd after the image and likeness of God, and ransom'd by the Blood of his Son, who keeps an account of 'em, and will not think 'em of no value, how ignorant and barbarous soever they seem to be. He was pleas'd to choose *Spain* to the Service of carrying the Light of the Gospel into the New World, and to engage those Nations to entertain the Christian Faith. And it seem'd as if the Almighty had discover'd all these Temporal Riches to the *Spaniards*, as a recompense for those Spiritual Pleasures with which they were to enrich the *Indies*. But tho' he open'd a way for 'em into those vast Regions, so wealthy, fertile and pleasant, so full of Mines of Gold, Silver and precious Stones; instead of being thankful for all these Favors, they have committed the most hainous Crimes to provoke him. Now 'tis usual for God to distribute his Punishments by a rule of proportion, adjusting them to the nature of the Offence. If Men sin by Pride, he covers 'em with Confusion and Shame; if they get any thing unjustly through Avarice, he often suffers 'em to lose their own Goods; and they that have stolen, are in turn rob'd themselves. Those that oppress and murder others, he permits to fall into the hands of such as treat 'em with the like Cruelty: They that take away their Neighbors Wives and violate 'em, have sometimes the same Outrages committed on their own. And such as usurp Kingdoms that don't belong to 'em, by God's Judgment come to see their own Kingdoms invaded by their Enemies; and thus it is with other Judgments which frequently answer the different kinds of Sin. The Holy Scripture and other Histories are full of Instances to this purpose;

purpose; and Experience every day furnishes us with such marks of the Divine Displeasure as these. The *Moors* once over-run *Spain*, and this was interpreted as a Judgment from God to punish the Crime of King *Roderick*, who ravish'd the Daughter of Count *Don Julian*, tho' 'tis more probable it was to punish the Crimes of the People of *Spain*, and the Injuries they offer'd their Neighbours, and that the Crime of this King only fill'd up the measure of those Vices.

'Tis convenient to inform your Majesty what is thought by Persons of the best sense, who are govern'd by no Prejudice, but only compassionate the Sufferings of the poor *Indians*. I have heard many such Persons say, I pray God these extravagant Cruelties don't one day fall heavy upon *Spain*! It may be such words as these that drop from many wise Men, are so many Advertisements and Menaces from God, who has been highly incens'd against this Nation by the Crimes of the *Spaniards*. And we already see that *Spain* is reduc'd to great Necessities, and Money is very scarce among us; tho' more Treasures have bin brought hither than *Solomon* possess'd in all his Glory: Most of those that have brought these Riches from the *Indies* have made a miserable end, and their Children are reduc'd to extreme Poverty, which justifies the old Maxim, *Vix gaudet tertius Heres*, the third Heir seldom enjoys an ill-gotten Estate; and that Passage of holy Scripture, *He that oppresseth the poor to increase his Riches—shall surely come to want*, Prov. 22. 16. Because, as has bin said, the Divine Judgments bear some proportion to the Crimes that Men commit. If your Majesty have the curiosity to inform your self of the detail of all these matters, we can shew you a List of the principal Tyrants that have committed the greatest Disorders in the *Indies*, by pillaging and massa-

massacring those poor People, and have themselves all died in a dreadful and despairing manner. It seems their Violence and Cruelty, the great quantity of Blood shed in the Massacres they have committed, and their other vicious Actions, the effects of which are yet to be seen, cry aloud to Heaven for Vengeance; while the Tears, and Sighs, and Entreaties of so many poor Innocents have fill'd Heaven and Earth, and put all the World into a Consternation, to the utter shame and reproach of all the Spanish Nation, and of the Kings of *Spain* too. Since then it depends only on your Majesty to lay the Ax to the Root of all these Disorders, and to do Justice to these afflicted People, it will be an Argument of your Prudence and Equity to employ your Power to deliver the *Indians* from the terrible Oppressions and Calamities under which they yet groan.

Your Majesty may be pleas'd farther to observe, that if the *Spaniards* have an Authority given 'em over the *Indians*, however it may be qualified, they will infallibly abuse it; for being naturally proud, they'l become still less obedient to your Majesty's Commands: Nay the immense Sums which they'l get in the *Indies* will enable 'em to confederate with other Nations, to withdraw their Allegiance entirely from your Majesty at long-run, and to support one another in their Rebellion. We already see that the richest of 'em, that flatter themselves with the Title of Conquerors, are so intolerably presumptuous, as to set themselves above the Rules of common Justice. Your Majesty's Vice-roy said not long since in one of his Letters, that the *Indians* ought to acknowledge no other God nor King than himself. Your Majesty therefore should take it for granted that it is not consistent with the Security of your Government, that there should be any great

Lord

Lord in the Continent of the *West-Indies*, invested with an absolute Jurisdiction over the *Indians*; this Power ought to be inseparable from your Royal Person: 'Tis not convenient for the future to give any one the Title of Count, Marquess, or Duke over either the *Indians* or *Spaniards* that are settled there; because 'twill prompt 'em to think too highly of themselves, and to advance themselves above their Condition, which may have very mischievous Consequences: In a word, this may probably open 'em a way to make themselves Kings of the *Indies*, and thereby devest your Majesty of the Right you have to those Countries.

Nor will it be more safe to trust this Power in the hands of those Gentlemen that compose your Majesty's Council in the *Indies*, which may also be attended with Inconveniences; for 'tis impossible for the Affairs of *America* to be well administr'd if the Members of that Council be absolute Lords of the *Indians*: To be sure then the King of *Spain* shall never know the truth of what passes there; this would produce nothing but Fraud and Imposture, and be an infallible means to compleat the Ruin of the *Indies*. They that govern in the *Indies*, industriously endeavour to prevent the Court of *Spain* from receiving any true Information how matters stand there, that they may securely pillage the Country, and live at their own Discretion. They have oppos'd those Friars whose Zeal carried 'em to *America* to preach, and have hinder'd 'em from reaping the fruit they might have expected from their Labors. The Judges and other Officers were afraid the Conversion of the *Indians* would be prejudicial to their Temporal Interest; and Avarice bore sway in their Minds instead of that Zeal they ought to have had for the Salvation of those Infidels. God is Witness that this is true, and 'tis not

difficult

difficult to prove it. They continued to persecute the Monks, till one of 'em, pitying them miserable case of these Idolaters, came on purpose to inform the King of *Spain* of the Violence of his Officers, and of the Obstructions they rais'd against the publication of the Gospel there. Cardinal *Ximenes* at that time manag'd the Affairs of *Spain*, who being well inform'd of the Affairs in the *Indies*, immediately resolv'd to devest the Council there of the Jurisdiction they pretended to have over the *Indians*, as being very pernicious. But the Kings of *Spain* are at so vast a distance from those Countries, that they have not been able speedily to redress all the pressing Grievances that incessantly afflict those miserable People. Their Laws and Orders given at so great a distance have no great Efficacy: and 'tis next to impossible for 'em to have a true account what Persecutions the *Indians* suffer: Or if a true Information should be had, they can only give some general Orders, without descending to make special provision against all those Mischiefs that can't be well known unless they were upon the place where they are acted. Besides, the Persons to whom these Orders are directed, commonly conceal 'em, or defer the execution of 'em; so that when they go about to fulfil 'em, 'tis too late, and the Remedies applied prove unseasonable and useless. Nay, they are often so wicked as to act in direct contradiction to what is commanded 'em; and flatter themselves with hopes of never being call'd to account, because they are so remote from *Spain*.

If your Majesty would reserve to your self alone the Jurisdiction of the *Indies*, without sharing it among the *Spaniards*, it would be the greatest happiness imaginable to the *Indians*, and nothing could more rejoice 'em, because then they would be convinc'd they should be no more expos'd to the In-

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sults and Persecutions of their Enemies; and would have so great a respect for your Majesty, obey you so universally, and love you so sincerely, that they would be always ready to sacrifice their Lives for your Service. You could then require nothing of 'em, but they would do it chearfully, because they seem to have a great propension to submit to your Royal Crown; whereas if the *Spaniards* are their absolute Masters, as their Obedience will be forc'd, so it will be of no long continuance, and they'l do all they can to get free of so severe a Yoke.

Moreover, when the *Indians* are once perswaded they are under your Protection, that they may live safely in their own Houses, and need fear no injury either in their Persons or Goods; all that are retir'd to the Mountains will soon come down to dwell in the Plains, as they were wont heretofore. For abundance of 'em have retreated to avoid the Cruelties of the *Spaniards*; and chuse rather to be devour'd by wild Beasts in the Mountains, than to fall into the hands of their Persecutors, tho Christians. The poor Wretches suffer a world of Inconveniences in those places whither they have retir'd, wanting almost all the Necessaries of Life: And 'tis impossible to find 'em out to instruct 'em in the Christian Faith: whereas if they liv'd together in Towns and Cities, they might easily be taught Religion, and a regular sort of Government establish'd among 'em, whereby they would be brought to the Service of the True God, which would become familiar to 'em: By this means the Ground would be cultivated, the Roads frequented and render'd more safe, and the Country no longer be desert and forlorn: The *Spaniards* would be supplied with Provisions, and convenient places to lodg in on their Journeys, and have a thousand other Advantages of which they

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are now depriv'd by the *Indians* deserting their Habitations.

Your Majesty may remember that after a mature examination of this Affair by many learned Men and able Divines, they unanimously declar'd, that the Dominion of the *Indies* could not be justly given to private Men, nor dismember'd from your Majesty's Crown. This Determination was signified to *Ferdinando Cortez*, with orders to put it in execution. Your Majesty was pleas'd on the same account again to call together an Assembly of Persons of great Learning and Virtue, who after a long debate, declar'd that the *Spaniards* could not lawfully be made Lords of the *Indies*. After which your Majesty gave most express Orders to prohibit it, revoking all Grants to the contrary procur'd on those false Accounts and Misrepresentations that had been given you. Your Majesty commanded the Governor of *Florida* to put these Edicts in execution, as may be still seen by his Instructions. Among the principal Articles of these Constitutions, one is, That the *Indians* ought to be accounted free, and not obliged to any other Services than the rest of your Majesty's Subjects who enjoy their Liberty under your Government: That they ought to pay Tithes to God, unless excus'd for some time, and likewise such Tribute to your Majesty as is impos'd lawfully, and in proportion to the Goods they possess, and the quality of their Land, according to the reasonable Estimate of those that govern 'em.

If it be desir'd that the *Indians* should be taught the Catholic Faith, and brought to embrace our Customs, while they keep up a sort of Government among themselves, your Majesty ought not to give them as Slaves to any one whatsoever, either for ever, or for a limited time; for this would be to expose

and Cruelties in the West-Indies. 245

pose 'em to the same Miseries they have hitherto endur'd, and perhaps to increase them: for after this there will be no dependence to be had on the Orders and Prohibitions made in favour of the *Indians*, whatever Penalties shall be annex'd to facilitate their Execution; for those that have bin already made are very wise Edicts, and might be very useful if put in practice. And one chief Reason against giving the *Indians* for Vassals to the *Spaniards*, is the small account these latter make of the Lives of those poor Creatures; for 'tis not to be imagin'd with what Contempt they look upon 'em, unless by those that have seen it: Their excessive Covetousness induces 'em to make 'em labor beyond their Strength, not caring what becomes of 'em so they get any thing by 'em. If any Persons give your Majesty a contrary account of these matters, you ought to look upon 'em as Enemies to the State, and disaffected to your Majesty's Service.

If your Majesty be convinc'd by the Arguments produc'd, you will prevent the *Spaniards* from committing a great many Violences and Murders, of which they are every day guilty. You will secure *Spain* from this Contagion, in preventing your People at home from partaking of the Sins of their fellow-Subjects, and sharing the Plunder with them which they have so unjustly gotten. For all Men of sense acknowledg that the Crimes of the *Spaniards* in *America* render all *Spain* obnoxious to the Curse of God; that the course they take to become rich is unjust; that the Gold and Silver they bring from the *Indies* is stolen, and that they are oblig'd to restore it to the right Owners whom they have unjustly plunder'd: which likewise evidences that those that partake of these usurp'd Riches have no good Title to 'em; for they ought

to have no Commerce with those publick Robbers, nor to sell 'em any Commodities for their stolen Gold; they should not so much as receive Presents from 'em, or consent to be their Heirs: And if so, it follows that all *Spain* is become guilty of the Crimes of those Men; so that there are few but have reason to be under trouble of Conscience, and are in danger of Damnation, because there are scarce any who have not participated of the Rapine of those that have come from the New World.

It has bin objected by the *Spaniards*, that if they have not a Jurisdiction over the *Indians* as their Vassals, it will be impossible for 'em to live in the *Indies*, and consequently that your Majesty will not be able to keep those Kingdoms that have bin conquer'd in your Name, nor to publish the Catholic Faith there. For they say, if the *Spaniards* can't subsist there, the King of *Spain* can't preserve his Dominion over the *Indians*, nor maintain Monks among 'em to preach to 'em, so that they must be destitute of the Light of the Gospel; and those of 'em that have already receiv'd it, will gradually lose it for want of fresh Instruction, and so return to their former Idolatry, and other Sins.

They that reason after this manner, do it not so much from a Principle of true Zeal and Compassion, lest so many Souls should perish, as from a desire of oppressing these People, and that they may grow rich by the Spoil they get from 'em. 'Tis only their privat Interest makes 'em talk at this rate; for they are not at all concern'd about your Majesty's Interest, or the Salvation of the poor *Indians*. 'Tis not the Good of the Public, or the Glory of God that moves 'em; for their Conduct sufficiently shews what little respect they have to the Law of God, which forbids 'em to do the least hurt to any one, how great an advantage soever it might procure 'em.

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They ought to know, if they have the true Sentiments of Christianity, that tho your Majesty should run the risk of losing all your Conquests in the *Indies*, and be render'd incapable of causing the Christian Faith to be preach'd among the *Indians*; it were better to forgo all such great Advantages, than to obtain 'em by ruining the Inhabitants after the manner hitherto practis'd. It had bin no great Misfortune to your Majesty, if your Empire had not extended so far as the *Indies*; and 'tis an ill way of going to work, to endeavour to establish Christianity there by such criminal Methods. The reason of which is evident, because we are forbidden to *do evil that good may come*, Rom. 3. 8. God is not pleas'd with the greatest Sacrifices if polluted with any Sin, but abhors all such Offerings. 'Tis a most hainous Sin, and worthy of eternal Damnation, to massacre Infidels on pretence of introducing the Christian Faith among 'em, and of extirpating a part of 'em to save the rest. God dos not require Men to receive his Word on such hard terms, and absolutely forbids such a kind of Zeal for the Salvation of Souls as this. He would not have us pretend to be more concern'd about the Salvation of Souls than himself. That which he requires of us is to keep within the compass of his Laws, and not to exceed the Limits he has prescrib'd. For 'twould be an Argument of much Stupidity, and a great sin for any one to throw a Child into a Well to baptize it, and so to drown it on pretence of saving its Soul. And is it not a greater Crime, and more odious and abominable in the sight of God, to scandalize, destroy and massacre so many thousand People, under the pretext of putting the rest in the way of Salvation? 'Tis our business to do all the Good we can in conforming our selves to God's Commandments, and keeping within the bounds he has set us, leaving the rest to him-

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self. But this is a false Gloss which the *Spaniards* use to cover their Avarice ; for the Salvation of the *Indians* is no part of their Care ; all they mind is rather to ruin and enslave 'em, than to make Christians of 'em. Therefore in opposition to all their false Pretences, we assure your Majesty, that if you please to reserve to your self alone the Dominion of the *Indies* without admitting the *Spaniards* to assume the quality of Lords and Masters over the *Indians*, it will be an infallible means to establish the Catholic Faith among them. The *Spaniards* will be able to live commodiously among 'em in greater numbers than they have hitherto done ; and all other Inconveniences will be remov'd, which will mightily conduce to the Glory of God, the Advantage of the *Indians*, the Aggrandizement of your Empire, and the general Good of all *Spain*.

F I N I S.

T H E
A R T
O F
Travelling to Advantage.

TIS commonly thought that the Advantages of Travelling are always out-balanc'd by the Inconveniences that attend it ; that tho a Man is at never so much Charge in his Voyages, he must still undergo a great deal of Hardship ; and when all is done, the Profit he reaps is not to be compar'd with the Fatigues he endures. But nothing can be more false than this Opinion ; for in truth, the advantage of Travelling infinitely surmounts the trouble of it : and as the Experiment of a Chymist, whatever it costs him, is very well rewarded when he makes some considerable discovery of Nature ; so that Traveller that knows how to improve his Mind as he ought by his Voyages, is always well requited for the Inconveniences he has sustain'd.

The Prejudice that some entertain, that the want of that Experience which is to be gain'd in Voyages and actual Discoveries, may be supplied by reading Books that treat of such matters, or by the force of the Imagination, which gives its own shape to all things it represents, and never makes 'em appear as they are in themselves, is a mere Illusion : For what-
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ever forestals and prepossesses the Judgment is so little capable of forming the Mind, that 'tis the very thing which corrupts it, and deprives it of its natural relish for Truth, and that disposition to receive it, which serves as a foundation for Reason to build upon. That which is found in Books is not always true; for besides that Decency will not permit Men to write but within the compass of certain Rules, Flattery, the humor of the Time and Nation wherein a Man lives, the public Interest, or the management of private Affairs, always make some difference between what a Man writes, and what may be thought by those among whom he lives: Which forms an almost invincible Obstacle in the way of Truth, and hinders her from shewing her self in her proper shape.

But in Travelling we find all imaginable help and assistance to furnish our Minds with Experience and Knowledge; for what is conceal'd in Books is by this means openly discover'd to us; and we judg of things with more safety, because we see 'em with greater perspicuity when the Curtain is drawn aside. When we go to the very Principles of things, and draw Water at the Fountain, the taste and quality of it must needs be most agreeable. This is the way to know Men as they really are, and not only as the Interest of some Persons makes 'em appear to be; and to judg of their Actions, Manners, and Politicks in themselves, and not on the Credit of foreign Relations; so that the Mind receiving thence a pure and vivid light, that sets it above the danger of Prejudice, is at the same time confirm'd and improv'd on solid grounds, and at length rais'd to the upper Region of Policy where its great Phenomena appear.

We are taught in the Book of *Ecclesiastes*, that to become wise a Man must go into strange Countries,
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Sapiens in terram alienigenarum Gentium pertransiet; and it follows afterwards, *in absconditis suis conciliabitur*, by that means he shall be acquainted with the most profound Notions of Wisdom, that is, of RELIGION; *Occulta Proverbiorum exquiret*, he'll make a scrutiny into their Maxims, Manners and Customs, that is, into MORALITY: *bona enim & mala in hominibus tentabit*; he'll have the advantage by conversing with the Living (which is much better than to consult the Dead) to know the sources of that Good and Evil which Men do either to themselves, or one another, that is, in one word, POLICY. These are the three fundamental Principles by which a wise Man ought to regulate his Conduct, and in these he ought to accomplish himself by Travelling: For a Man is confirm'd in his Religion by the knowledg he acquires of the importance and certainty of it; he forms a solid Scheme of Morality from the different Practices he observes in the World, and informs himself in the true Rules of Policy by the use he finds other People make of 'em. From which it follows, that if a Man would be wise, he ought to travel; and 'tis hardly to be expected that any one who neglects this method, will prove eminent for Prudence and Politicks.

This Art of Travelling to advantage requires four Conditions that are all absolutely necessary in every one that would succeed in it. The first is, That his Mind be already form'd and fix'd, and yet this in such a manner as not to be strictly determin'd. The second is, That he be not prepossess'd with Prejudices. The third is, That his Capacity bear a proportion to the Science or Business to which he is devoted, and in which he desires to be accomplish'd. And the fourth is, That he want no assistance necessary to bring him into acquaintance with the
 best

best Masters, and that he know their Sentiments at the first hand.

I say, the first Condition is to have the Mind form'd, but not determin'd; that is, it should not be so crude as eagerly to receive all sorts of Impressions, and yet sufficiently dispos'd to give a free admission to Truth, which will perhaps be understood better by an Example. One that travels too young is immediately dissatisfied in the exercise of the Religion he professes, by the different manners of Worship he discovers abroad; therefore the greenness of his Age makes him run a greater risk than is commonly thought in the discussion of matters of Religion, tho it renders him very fit to endure Fatigues, the difference of Climats, of Food, and of the various Seasons of the Year. Nor is a Man any more fit to improve by Travelling when too much advanc'd in Years, because his Mind is too much determin'd, and in no very good disposition to learn what he thinks he knows well enough already. So that that part of a Man's Age from twenty five to thirty five is the most proper time for Travelling, because his Mind is neither wholly crude, nor entirely form'd; that which he has already learn'd only disposes him to judg the better, while he seeks to be inform'd after another manner; and thus he makes so fair a decision of what he learns, that all the Sophisms in the World will never shake him. By this 'tis easy to see whence it is that so few are the better for Travelling, and can only give an account of such Circumstances as Soldiers and Postilions might easily relate; 'tis to be attributed either to their too great Youth or too great Age.

The second Qualification of a Traveller is, That he be void of Prejudice in every thing, about which he desires to receive Information; because Prejudice produces such an Effect upon our Reason, as a Film does

does upon the Eye; it casts such a Mist upon it, and renders it so incapable to make a fair Judgment of what is propos'd to it, that nothing can be more opposite to the discovery of Truth than Prepossession, which if it bear sway in the Mind, will give little hope of improvement by Travelling.

The third Quality requisite is, To have a Capacity of Mind proportionate to the business to which a man applies himself, and in which he seeks to be accomplish'd: For seeing the Rudiments of Painting and other Arts are not to be learn'd by Travelling, and observing the finest Strokes of the best Masters; but a Man must be cut out for a business before he presumes to seek Improvement in it by going abroad: They that suppose to turn a Blockhead into a Man of Parts by sending him into foreign Countries, will find themselves mistaken. He that has but a small Natural Capacity will never have a large one, whatever course be taken to improve it: 'Tis true, he may learn by Travelling to fill up what Capacity he has, but he'll never be able to go beyond it; for the Minds of Men have their several degrees of height and strength, as well as their Bodies; and as 'tis impossible by all the Art in the World to add one inch to a Man's Stature when at his full growth, so 'tis utterly impracticable to enlarge the Capacity of his Mind beyond the Bounds which Nature has prescrib'd.

The fourth Qualification is, To be furnish'd with all necessary Assistance to facilitate his Access to the Masters of those Arts and Sciences he has a mind to learn; in which respect every Country has a different Genius; so that 'tis often seen, that what may contribute to a man's assistance in one place, will by no means do him any good in another. For instance, In *Germany* a man shall never get inward with Great Men by being profuse in his Expences, but

but will by this means be the more likely to fall under suspicion, and become much less welcome than one of another Character. To gain Esteem there, a Man must bring with him a good Reputation, a distinguish'd Birth, or an extraordinary Merit. In *Italy* the quite contrary Humor obtains. And in the *Levant* neither one nor t'other takes place, but an Air of Simplicity, Sincerity and Honesty will introduce a Man into any Company. An eloquent and voluble Tongue does well in *Poland*, but very ill in *Spain*, and still worse at *Constantinople*: A great shew of Devotion will naturalize a Man in *Portugal*, but render him ridiculous in the Northern Kingdoms. A pleasant and merry Humor will spoil a Man's business in *Austria* and *Italy*, but give him easy access in *England*.

As for the knowledge of Tongues, besides that it is impossible to acquire all a Man wants if he travel any thing far, and that it will not do him all the Service that is commonly imagin'd, if he has only a mind to run through *Europe*, it is a great occasion of the Corruption of Manners, by easily introducing Men into places of Debauchery; and on the other hand it has been observ'd, that it contributes very little to the forming of the Mind: for besides that it is not the common People that a Man ought to be curious in consulting; and among Men of figure the knowledge of their Language renders a Man obnoxious to suspicion, 'tis sufficient that a Man can speak any one Language that is known: As the Italian Tongue is very common in *Greece* and the Lesser *Asia*, besides the help one may have from Interpreters, of whom there are great numbers for all the living Tongues in *Europe*. And if you speak a dead Language with any Native of a foreign Country, he has no advantage above you; and if you are better vers'd in it than he, he'll be sure to supply

supply what he wants in Expression by the degree of Knowledge, wherein he excels you in respect of the matter about which you converse, and will give you a greater insight into it in half an hour's Discourse, than you should have obtain'd it may be in twenty Visits, if you had made use of his Native Language. 'Tis sufficient if you have Language enough to make your self understood about your necessary Affairs; and there are always People to be found, who will make use of your Native Language, to discourse with you so as not to be understood by others, that they may learn something of you that others don't know; and that they may give you occasion to learn something of them which you don't yet understand. But Curiosity ought to be kept within the bounds of Patience and Discretion, and that being suppos'd, there's scarce any thing but a Man may be capable of it in Travelling; if one can but add to the Conditions I have been mentioning a lively and yet obsequious Fancy, an easy and faithful Memory, a sweet and insinuating Humor, a Curiosity that is not impatient, and an impartial way of judging. These are the Qualities that give a Man an easy and agreeable reception into all Companies, and prepossess the People of any Nation with favourable thoughts of a Traveller who is endow'd with 'em. These cut his Work short, remove all Obstacles in the way of his acquaintance with them, and bring them into such a familiarity with him, as will be sure to engage their Confidence, if he be but careful to observe himself, as well as study the Temper of others. These are the Vehicles of Policy, which by discovering the Humor, Inclinations and Genius of every Nation, insensibly bring us to the knowledge of their Maxims, their Reasons of State, their Designs, their Conduct and various Sentiments. In a word, 'tis by the help of these

these Qualifications, that a Man becomes a *Proteus* in foreign Countries, and knows how to transform himself into the shape of others, and so to conceal his own. And by consequence must needs reap advantage by all the good he sees or hears, which is agreeable to his Character, and the Capacity of his Mind.

I say, he should have a lively, but obsequious Imagination, which may pass for a Paradox among such as judg hastily, just as they feel their Fancies touch'd; and supposing a lively Imagination can never be obsequious without losing its Vivacity at the same time, will tell me I require an impossibility: 'tis therefore convenient to undeceive 'em by a sensible Comparison. When one that seeks for Game sees something move in a Bush, his first motion is to put himself in a posture to shoot; but if he discharges immediately without any further Observation, he may well be counted rash, and his precipitancy will spoil his Design: whereas if he has prudence and patience, he'll observe what 'tis that stirs, and endeavour to discover what Game may be in the Bush, which way it came, and whither it goes, which gives him the greater advantage to direct his Aim, so that his shot can hardly miss. There's no Comparison can be more just and applicable to the case in hand. A Traveller that has a mind to make some Discoveries in the Mysteries of State-Policy, is prying and observing with an Activity like that of one who is seeking after Game; every thing that appears more than ordinary ought to strike his Mind so as to excite his Attention: but nothing ought to determine him but his Reason, and a due application of the Principles of Policy; he should see and hear, and take a measure of every thing, without imagining he has got any thing till he has measur'd it with that profound Discussion I have been commending.

Statef-

Statefmen are extremely crafty, and know how to dodg with a Stranger, especially when they see in him a great Vivacity and Eagerness to receive what they tell him.

These Artifices are us'd in all Nations more or less according to the degree of their Refinement and Subtilty: Therefore the intelligent Traveller must imitate the cunning Hunter, who sometimes makes as if he did not see his Game, merely to surprize it the more easily: He must make as if he did not hear some things, and as if he understood much less, and discover'd nothing at all; from whence one of these two things must necessarily follow, either that he will be suppos'd to be ignorant and stupid, which will render him less suspected, and occasion a new Explication of the matter discours'd of in more open and intelligible terms; or else that the Person he converses with, will immediately give another turn to the Subject in hand by different Expressions, and the variety of Terms cannot choose but give some light into what he would conceal or disguise.

He may also learn somewhat from the common report of a Province or City, to inform him what is the predominant Genius of a Nation, or of the Court that governs it, only with this difference, that what he is told of the Spirit of any Nation, is generally and almost infallibly true; whereas the Idea that is given of a Court is almost always false; so that 'twould be a kind of Miracle if ever it should happen to be true. There is in the Voice of the Publick a certain tract of Truth, Simplicity, Ingenuity and Sincerity, which keeps the Multitude either from being easily deceiv'd themselves, or from deceiving others; and so much the more, because (as *Origen* says) God, the first Cause of all things, has reserv'd only this way to make an im-

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pression

pression of Truth on the Minds of the Populace, who are not capable of any other discussion of things, much less of refin'd Politicks; which gave occasion to that wise saying, *The Voice of the People is the Voice of God*. But the Court is another World, where all things are compounded, and from whence Simplicity, Candor, Sincerity, and oftentimes even Justice and Truth are exil'd. And seeing the Men of this World are different from others, 'tis not to be wonder'd at if one is deceiv'd by their Disguises, and if the warm Fancy of a young Man is every day impos'd on by them: For every thing they do is with design, and therefore 'tis no wonder that there's double dealing in all Affairs, so that one knows not where to have 'em. Hence it is that those Authors that write Relations of the State of Princes Courts, are carried away with so many Illusions: For the more account they make of that certain knowledg they pretend to have of 'em, and the more the Ministry see they depend upon it, the more they vary in their discourse with such an Author, to deprive him of the sight of what he aims at, by embarrassing his Mind with diversity of Mediums.

There's no Rock more dangerous to an intelligent Traveller, than the popular Reports which a Prince's Council either purposely spreads abroad, or suffers to be divulg'd: There's no stress to be laid on such Stories, and a Man ought to be careful not to suffer himself to be surpriz'd by 'em. A wise Roman on such an occasion one day said to me, *Se questo fosse vero, non lo saprebbe il popolo*. "The Credit the People give this Report may be enough to convince you that there's no such matter at the Palace, but that the business is either already finish'd, or else 'tis a stroke that is not resolv'd, and it may be not thought on; for if it was either the one or the

" other,

" other, you may be sure the People would have known nothing of it.

However 'tis true, that common Reports as they precaution the Fancy instead of instructing it, do not fail to furnish a Traveller with such Notices, as must needs turn to his account. These Reports *Salust* very wisely calls, *Experimenta Nationum, The Trials of the People*; for there is at least so much probability in 'em, that they have some Principle that gives rise to 'em, and that they have given some colour to an End which a Court is willing to hide by some specious means.

I confess the *Italians* excel all Christian Nations in this method of Travelling; but the People of the East infinitely out-do the *Italians* themselves: and 'tis from the long Conversation I have had with both, that I have receiv'd what Light I have in this matter, especially the way of abating the heat of Fancy, and preventing it from being transported beyond due bounds by its Vivacity, in which the Eastern People are inimitable; and 'tis a Quality one can't behold in 'em without Astonishment.

But seeing a Fancy that is tractable and obedient determines nothing, and what it discovers may as well deceive it as inform it; it ought to commit the discussion of all to the Judgment, that so it may come to a result: For this purpose the Judgment ought to be sublime and clear, tho these two Qualities are not so compatible as at the first glance they seem to be: for the elevation of the Mind exposes it to Mists and Clouds, tho clearness of thought is common to an extensive Soul. The former is like the tops of Mountains which reach to the Clouds, and almost always seem cover'd with a Mist to them that stand in the Plain. That is, to explain the Similitude; That Genius which is naturally sublime, being less capable than others of stooping

down to the many frivolous Circumstances which concur to the discovery of the politick Spirit of a Court, often happens to pass such a Judgment as is not free from all Objections, or else his way of expression is less clear and intelligible than that of others. On the contrary, they that affect clearness of Judgment creep on the ground as it were, still following the natural extent of their Minds which serves for a Line to direct their steps; and as without this they could never go directly to the end they have in view, so by the help of it they do every thing with a becoming Justness and Deliberation.

Happy are they whose Genius is both sublime and extensive, for the elevation of their Minds shews 'em what Souls of an inferior Rank could never have discover'd; and their extension serves to help to render every thing present to 'em without confusion, because the elevation of their Minds gives 'em a prospect of every thing; so that they see both distinctly, and as it were at one view, whatever is necessary to direct 'em to make a right Judgment.

To inculcate this matter the better, it may not be amiss to make use of a Comparison. Suppose three Men walking in the field together discover an Object at a distance: one of 'em having observ'd it, says 'tis a Cart going on the top of a Hill; another supposes it to be a Bush wav'd up and down by the Wind; and the third is confident 'tis a Man on horseback riding against the Wind. Now it being naturally impossible for the same Object to be at once a Cart, a Bush, and a Man on horseback, 'tis most certain that at least two of the three are mistaken in their Judgments; and if one of them judges right, it must be he that considers with the greatest force of thought all possible Motions of that Object about which he has thought fit to make a Judgment.

Judgment. This discovery is not to be ascrib'd precisely to the sense of seeing, since this is suppos'd to be alike in all three; therefore the truth of this Judgment must be attributed to the quality of his Mind who has the best notices of the matter.

The application of this Comparison is easy: Travellers often think they have discover'd every thing that passes in a Court, those Enterprizes that are yet only to be seen at a distance, and those Designs that are still more remote; yet 'tis not possible that all that make these Observations should have the same elevation of Mind, and none but such as have a very sublime and clear Judgment are capable of speaking accurately of what they have observ'd. Hence it is that we see so many different accounts of foreign Countries, and yet all of 'em publish'd for truth by their respective Authors; and indeed they may be so, but this in proportion to the Character of the Minds of those who compos'd 'em in their Travels, according to the Judgment they made of things.

If I had not read in the account of the Voyage to *Athens* the History of one *Hieros Damaskinos* of *Caloyero*, with whom I had just such another interview as the Author of that Relation says happen'd to him, I would here give an account of it at large; but shall now only add something which that Traveller seems not to have met withal. There were three Gentlemen of different Countries and my self one day discoursing with this illustrious *Caloyer* about the Policy of the *Turks*, which each of us pretended to look upon as barbarous and uncultivated, on purpose to give him an occasion to speak of it after such a manner as might give us light into it. He told us he had no skill in Policy either in general, or in the use of it among the *Turks*; and that he made it his business only to understand and explain the holy Scripture to his Disciples of *Athens*: but he said if

we would address our selves to the *Turks*, as to the *Vairvode* of *Athens*, or any other Person of Note, they would be sure to give us satisfaction in those matters.

I remember I was the only Person in the company that could not be perswaded that this *Caloyer* was unacquainted with Politicks. A very ingenious *Pollander* thought he was too much devoted to the study of the Scripture to have any great matter of skill in other things. A *German* that was of our company took him for a Person only vers'd in the Notions of the School-men, and capable of criticizing on the holy Scripture: an *Italian* that was with us maintain'd that as he was one of that remnant of Greeks who seem to be the Posterity of the Peasants of former times; he had not subtilty of mind enough to penetrate into such Politicks as were as burdensom to 'em as they appear'd violent and unreasonable.

We push'd our Curiosity yet further, and by good luck a *Sangiac* who was upon his return from *Candie* to the Port, and pass'd through *Athens*, was so kind as to inform us of many things we had a mind to know; and among other things told us there was no Man in the World knew more of those matters than this Grecian. It may easily be imagin'd I hug'd my self for judging differently of this Man from the rest of the company. And at last, after many earnest Sollicitations, we engag'd this learned *Caloyer* to take off the Mask, and shew us that he was under such a serious disguise of Simplicity as would have deceiv'd a thousand People.

To return from this Digression; I say, to judge well of all that presents and strikes the Imagination of a man in travelling into foreign Parts, whether it concern Religion, Morals or Politicks, there's need of both elevation and clearness in the Judgment;

ment; that is to say, such a measure of both, as may dispose things in so much order that they don't perplex and confound the Minds of other Men, nor produce any thing in 'em but Light. And this Qualification is not to be acquir'd if a Man is not born with a suitable disposition. It can't be well explain'd but by Practice; however, to give some Idea of it, it seems to me to consist in three things: First, In laying the stress of one's Judgment on that which makes the least appearance in an Intrigue or Negotiation; for Policy being the Academy of Disguise, and an exercise of Craft and Subtilty, generally that which appears least in a politick Observation may pass for the most real and true part of it. Secondly, In never counting any thing sufficiently explain'd to determine one's mind about it, that so the unexpected founding of some Circumstance or other, that does not seem to be thought of, may give one a discovery of somewhat of which the Ministry of a Court perhaps is not aware. And so much the more in as much as speculative Policy being suppos'd impenetrable, and not beginning to appear till 'tis going to be put in execution, 'tis in the Circumstances of the Execution that you are to seek the certain discovery of the Design. Thirdly, In the opposition of one thing to another; for altho the means employ'd in any particular politick Design may be absolutely alter'd from one day to another, because there's no Medium always essential to and inseparable from Policy, yet 'tis certain, considering how Men are made, that 'tis probable the Council of a Prince don't alter their common Notions, nor take up Resolutions as contradictory one to another as Black to White: and therefore the Opposition an intelligent Traveller discovers in the Affairs on which he is making observation, ought to suspend his Judgment, and to oblige him to forbear

bear determining his Opinion, till time give him further light. The first of these Rules forms the Judgment, and renders it solid; the second cultivates and refines it; and the third advances it to Perfection. The first is owing more to Nature than Experience; the second depends as much on Experience as on a Genius: and the third raises the Mind to a consummate Prudence, which is the highest pitch of politick Wisdom.

That Traveller who has not an elevation of Mind capable of such Inventions as may out-wit another, may make use of the second Character of a prudent Mind, namely, to enquire much into things, and determine but little about 'em; but if a Man wants both the one and the other of these Qualities, we'll venture to prophesy that he'll never become a Politician.

The Memory in the judgment of many passes for one of the most excellent Faculties of the Soul: But few consider, that seeing it brings out nothing but what has been committed to it before, when there is Confusion in the Mind, there must also necessarily be the like disorder in the Memory. 'Tis a great advantage to a Traveller to have a Memory easily impressible, provided it be faithful; for if a Man because he has seen much, goes about to utter a great deal without giving an intelligible account of matters, by reason of that Confusion which the amazing diversity of Things, Names and Circumstances ordinarily occasions, his Memory appears to be a mere Labyrinth of Perplexity.

I have always look'd upon an easy Memory to be like a handsome Face, which hides a great many Infirmities in a crazy Body, and strikes the Fancy more than all these Imperfections, tho they really much out-balance it. For besides that such a Memory serves for a Rock for the Imagination to split on,

on, and this becomes as dangerous to the Reason and Judgment, supposing it not to be incompatible with the regular exercise of either of these; yet 'tis most certain a great multiplicity of Facts require either abundance of time to range 'em in good order, or a prodigious heat of Fancy to melt 'em down (as it were) altogether, without making any alteration in 'em. So that it seems an impossible supposition, that an easy Memory can be strong and true, so as not to divert from that steady Application which the Judgment requires.

And yet both are necessary for a Traveller, so that one of these Qualities without the other would be of no use to get the knowledge of the State-Resolutions of any foreign Politicians: For if what he learns to day is not supported with all those Circumstances that may render it more than probable to his discussion, and is not produc'd afresh in all its Circumstances when any Affair that bears a proportion to it presents, 'tis easy to conceive that all the Circumstances that help'd him at first to decide the matter in hand being represented to him but by halves, and in the room of those that are omitted others substituted which alter the state of the case; 'tis not difficult, I say, to conceive that such an easy Memory must cast him into confusion, because it does not faithfully revive all those Circumstances. This Conclusion may be set in a clearer light by an Example.

The Visier *Kara Mustapha* who besieg'd *Vienna* remember'd the Advice, and a great many of the Projects Count *Tekely* had given him in his Tent at their interview beyond *Buda* before this great Enterprize: And his Memory reproduc'd that in his extremity, which his Pride had made him despise. The Count perswaded him to possess himself of the Bridges of *Vienna* on the North-side before he made

a formal Siege, presuming that by this means he would either block up the late Duke of *Lorrain* with his Troops in *Leopalstat*, or oblige him to quit it with the more speed, and a greater number of his Men, which would make the Circumvallation more easy, and the Garison probably less numerous, or else the Duke would expose himself to be first routed in the field: and never was any Advice more wisely given, or more rashly condemn'd.

When this Visier was mortified by the Resistance of the Besieged, and resolv'd to attempt any thing to repair the damage he had sustain'd, and the time he had lost in this Siege, he was willing to have recourse to Count *Tekely's* Counsel, and would needs endeavour to be master of those Bridges, without considering the difference of Time and other Circumstances; he gave his Orders for the execution of this Design, but instead of depriving *Vienna* of good part of its Garison, or of weakening those Succors which the Prince of *Lorrain* manag'd so long, and to so good purpose against him, as he might certainly have done in the former Juncture, he diminish'd his own Force, and sent his Troops to be cut in pieces without being able to execute the Orders they had receiv'd.

By this one may judg that an easy Memory is always dangerous when 'tis unfaithful; tho I confess 'tis less so in the speculation of a Traveller than in the conduct of a Statesman, who ought from the very first step he takes to distrust it more than depend on it. Memory is a great help at the Bar, and in the Pulpit, but 'tis the least Qualification of a Statesman. 'Tis by reading (which is a kind of Travelling) and by Travelling (which is a living sort of reading) that a Man is to be convinc'd of this Truth, that an easy Memory being usually treacherous when 'tis over-charg'd with many things that

that have no mutual connexion, nothing is to be omitted that may render it less easy and more faithful.

I think I have observ'd by Experience three Rules that contribute much to reduce the Memory to this state, which is certainly no easy matter to accomplish. The first is, for a Man to learn well the chief foreign things about which he has a mind to employ his Memory, without troubling himself to retain the proper Names of Places, Persons and Times, of which Gazetteers seldom fail to give a very particular account for the information of the Curious, because 'tis their province to know things of this kind. The second is, To join that which one desires to know, to what one knows already by some *Epocha* of Facts, Times, or Conjunctions, which resemble and refer one to another; as, for instance, to join to the raising the Siege of *Vienna* the politick Proposition made by the King of *Poland* for his eldest Son to be married to the Archdutchess as his Reward for relieving that City. The third is, to unite and accommodate both the one and the other to the Circumstances and actual Conduct of the Country where a Man is at present, or whither he is to return; because what passes there can't easily escape the Mind, being often reviv'd by the Memory, and therefore that which has been link'd to it will also be retain'd, and the Memory render'd faithful to such a degree, that all things will be easily recollected.

I say a Man ought in the first place thorowly to possess his Mind with the first discoveries he makes in his Travels, that is to say, after he has made a deep search into the Precepts of Policy (without which nothing is to be expected of him) to look on every side upon that which first strikes his Mind in a manner different from the Prejudices he has brought out

out of his own Country, that so he may object against his own Prepossession all those Reasons that he imputes to the Prejudices of others, which is fit to be demonstrated by an Example.

A French Man that goes to *Rome* furnish'd with many Advantages and Recommendations that give him access to Persons of Quality, is presently loaded with Civilities, without being taken into that kind of Familiarity with them, which is so agreeable to his Humor: This makes him impatient, and it seems no small Punishment to him to continue six weeks at *Rome*, to live all the while in an Inn: But at length the Reasons of this kind of Treatment are open'd to him, and he comes to understand that the *Italian* loving Splendor tho he is not rich, and affecting to be liberal without incommoding himself, waits to regale him after a magnificent manner and in good company, when he finds a proper time for it, and then his Splendor, Profusion and Magnificence will appear at once. He must therefore examine all the Reasons of this kind of Conduct; and by opposing this liberty the *Italians* reserve to themselves, to the ordinary profuseness of that Nation, he'll be convinc'd that they do well at *Rome* not to live in that familiarity he so much desir'd. These Discoveries will be serviceable to him at *Constantinople*, and he'll appear a knowing Man in other places in proportion to the faithfulness of his Memory in reviving the Reasons, and different respects that have determin'd him at *Rome*. This is what I call a thorow possessing of the Mind with that which one desires to commit to Memory.

The second method is, to join things together by some *Epocha* that is remarkable, and not easy to be chang'd. This Connexion is like a Guide always going before the Judgment with a light in his hand, so that he seldom mistakes his way who is conducted by

by it. The *Epocha* contributes much to the fidelity of the Memory, and the things being allied together by a proper reference and proportion, 'tis almost impossible that the revival of 'em in the Memory should not be exact and true.

The reason of which is not from the nature of those Incidents which accidentally happen to be link'd together, but from the immediate application of the Mind, which because it omits nothing that may give it a deep impression of a thing, can't see two different Circumstances which concur to the same Fact, without making a certain fix'd Point, as well for the Time, as other Conjunctions: 'Tis this that has occasion'd so many Digressions in antient Historians, who have not been able to resist that natural Inclination of shewing in the same Treatise, what they had observ'd at the same time, and by the same discoveries.

In fine, the third method of rendering the Memory faithful is, to reunite the Notices one receives, and the Conjunctions that present, to what actually passes in one's own Country; because the revival of what is acted there must needs be frequent and of long duration, and a Man's mind will necessarily be concern'd about it; and seeing this obliges a Man to join to his present Observations, that which pass'd in his own Country when he was there, he is as it were tied fast to the Circumstances of things so that he cannot easily mistake 'em, but is necessarily oblig'd to revive 'em in his mind. 'Tis true; there must be strength of Thought, Labor and Time to reunite these things after long Voyages, especially if our Traveller has not had much correspondence with his own Country: But Experience every day shews that 'tis no impossible thing.

This is, in my opinion, the innocent Art of rendering an easy Memory faithful; let us now pass to

to the other Qualifications of a Traveller.

It has been said that he ought to have a sweet and insinuating Humor, not by a study'd composing of himself, which will soon betray him when he tarries long in a place, but by a docility of Mind, which makes a Man as it were naturally comply with things that one would think must needs shock him, to judge of him by the gust of his Country. 'Tis this sweetness of temper which becomes Affability in those who are in public Posts, but in Travellers it should always be Condescension, without degenerating into a servile weakness of Mind: And they ought to have the art of using this Condescension after an advantageous manner, so as to engage those with whom they converse, either to confide in 'em, or to inform 'em. Suppose, for instance, that one happens to be with an English-man who boasts of his own Nation, in respect of its Strength, Courage, Trade, Plenty and Independence; and scarce ever speaks of a French-man, an Italian, or a German, without contempt; a Traveller who has docility, and yet firmness of Mind, will in sincere terms give his Suffrage to applaud what is good in the English Nation, and in their Politics, without undertaking to make comparisons between Nation and Nation, or so much as between Man and Man, which ought to be industriously avoided; because there are always in foreign Countries some Persons that go under a disguise, whose Genius, Country, Interest and Designs, can scarce ever be discover'd, but yet by this means may be won upon. In observing this Conduct, our Traveller would not fail to attract the Confidence of such an English-man, and so might get out of him why the English Nation is so fickle and unsteady in the midst of all its Prosperity, why they are so eager after Gain amidst so great Riches, and why they are so unfit for long Enterprizes and tedious

tedious Conquests, tho they have such good Armies and Fleets. In a word, he'd learn more of this English-man in three days, than he could perhaps in reading all the Historians that have written of that Country.

But to give the Demonstration of this, when ever any thing flatters and pleases a Man to such a degree as to make him despise what does not seem to bear a proportion to it, either he is a Fool, or under a disguise, or an intelligent Man set upon his own Interest, and over-zealous for it. If the first, a wise Traveller will easily discover him, and condemn him, without troubling himself to talk with him. If the second, he'll make trial of him by the Rules I have been laying down; so that this Man under a Mask shall not be able to proceed far without being either reduc'd to silence, or else betraying himself. If the last, he can't be a man of Knowledge but by the universal Principles of Policy, in which he has no advantage above our Traveller, or else by such particular Decisions he has made as are proper to his Country; and in this point he excites all the Curiosity of our Traveller, who for his own satisfaction must apply himself to receive Instruction with all that nice Complaisance which we have been already supposing; he must hearken, applaud, and enquire: for Attention and Applause always procure the Esteem and Confidence of him that speaks; and a sweet, ingenuous and modest way of inquiring always returns with some discoveries; Experience shews that it never fails to get some degrees of knowledge out of those upon whom 'tis duly tried. The Information I have receiv'd even from a Servant as it were by accident, of a Visit made by a certain Person to his Master, has furnish'd me with the first occasion of diving into an Affair, of which I had not the least thought, and the discovery

very of which gave me that satisfaction which is agreeable to one that travels for his Information.

But to render this Effect the more certain; to this quality one ought to add a Curiosity that is not impatient. Curiosity is needful in travelling, but then it ought not to be too brisk and lively, that one may the better dissemble the Motives of it, and cover 'em with the usual pretexts of such a vain Curiosity as only applies it self to the description of Churches, Balaces, Gardens, Fortifications, and the detail of such Counsels and Circumstances as the meanest Servants of a Court always understand, as well as those that compose Historical Relations. There must be Curiosity to mitigate the uneasiness and difficulty a man must be sure to meet with in accommodating one's way of Living, Habit and Manners, to the Custom of Countries so unlike one's own: for seeing Self-love hath more pressing Reasons when it deprives it self of what is pleasing to it, to expose it self to that to which it has an aversion; 'tis necessary that it be requited for quitting what it so naturally likes, by some other satisfaction which the Fancy has the art to represent as greater, more rare, and more durable; without which there's no probable ground to expect a Man should travel with delight, and 'twould be an unadvised thing to attempt it. For to suppose that all those advantages a Man may make use of in Travelling will excuse him from all kind of uneasiness, is to please one's self with a mere Delusion, especially when a Man goes out of the Christian part of *Europe*. Curiosity therefore must serve instead of all other Pleasure to make amends for the Expence and Uneasiness to which our Traveller is expos'd.

This Curiosity deprives it self of what it designs to obtain, when it once appears to be impatient, and it really is impatient when ever it appears to be

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be so. Men of all Countries in the World are fram'd after such a manner, that no Man is willing to oblige another to his own disadvantage; and the most grateful and officious Person that can be will never give an occasion of getting an advantage over him by what he discovers. All that observe a Traveller have in this respect the same impression; every body suspects that Man to have some special design, who leaves his Family and his Country to expose himself to Sickness and other Dangers and Inconveniences, which are inevitable. They that suppose he has only a sensual Curiosity are always indulgent enough to satisfy him in that respect, because self-love obliges a Man to discover whatever is curious in his own Country to a Stranger: but it being another sort of Traveller that I have been supposing, namely, one who seeks to get an insight into State-Policy; the chief Advice I would give him, is not to devest himself of Curiosity (for that would be unreasonable) but not to be impatient in seeking to give it satisfaction.

Impatience is the daughter of Desire, and this if it be reasonable, must be the production of the Judgment, which will fully convince a Man that whatever sets him at a greater distance from the end he has in view, can't be proper to lead him to it. Now Impatience will infallibly set our Traveller at a greater distance from the End he proposes, and consequently cannot be fit to promote the Pleasure he expects from it. But to make it the better understood how and why Impatience retards the satisfaction of the Curiosity, one need only observe that it produces such precaution in the Minds of those with whom a Traveller converses, as becomes a kind of Partition-wall, that he must either pierce through or break down before he can discover what is acted on the other side of it. The

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more importunate a Man of understanding perceives a Stranger to be to get information, the less willing he is to satisfy him, and keeps the greater guard on himself not to gratify his desire till he is as it were necessitated to do it, and has learn'd something of this Traveller that may oblige him to it. This Obstacle is so great that one must not think either of slighting it, or of overcoming it without a considerable space of time, and a great deal of management. If a Man presumes to do the former, he'll find every body prejudic'd against him, when the Person he has slighted comes to explain himself after a manner that is disadvantageous to him: and if he depends on the latter course, he engages himself in a great Charge with more than a moral uncertainty of succeeding in his Design.

Would it not therefore be much better for our Traveller to appear free and easy in the presence of such Persons, that they may not become so cautious, but may attribute that only to his Curiosity which by his Impatience he'll give 'em occasion to impute to a desire of knowing the present state of the Government in which they are concern'd? And on this head it will not be improper to alledge an Example of which I have been a witness my self. I happen'd to be in a certain foreign Court, where there was a Dutch-man who had a great deal of Wit, and made too great an appearance not to be suspected; this Person desir'd Audience of one of the principal Ministers of State, who in conversation making use of that right which his Rank and Authority gave him, ask'd him, *What was the Motive of his Travels?* The Dutch-man thinking to make his Court to him, answer'd, that it was to learn of him as well as by the Example of other Persons of his figure, to understand the Government of a State. The Minister coldly replied, *You had need of a great deal*

deal of time, and a ripeness of Age to succeed in a business of this nature. To which this Stranger made this foolish return, *My Curiosity (says he) and impatience after Knowledge may abridg both the one and the other.* At this Answer the Statesman rose up and left him, with these words, *For my part, Sir, I perceive I shall contribute nothing to either.* And the Dutch-man was driven to despair to find himself suspected by a Minister of State, who had receiv'd him with affability, and now look'd upon him as a Man of no sense.

Needs any more to be said to shew that Curiosity, which is suppos'd necessary to a Traveller, ought not to be impatient? But for this end there's need of a great deal of judgment, and a good faculty of discerning the Humor of Nations, and the Temper of particular Mens Minds, which is a Talent that one can't communicate to any Man.

After all it is not impossible not to be impatient to learn what one goes so far to seek: for as our Traveller has not assign'd his Voyages a precise space of time, much less does he pretend to prescribe Laws to foreign Nations; 'tis his business to accommodate the extent of his Curiosity to the measure of his Capacity, and to proportion the effects of it to the good success he has had in foreign Discoveries: All Occasions, Seasons and Conjunctions are not equally proper for this purpose. There are some States in which nothing at all is to be learn'd during the time of War, and others wherein one can get no information but in such a time. In one place Peace is an Obstacle to politick Discoveries, in another War shuts up all the Avenues to the confidence of particular Persons. There are some Ministers under whose Conduct Men dare not speak, and others under whose Government people say any thing. Hence it is that some

Travellers learn more than others, tho perhaps they are Persons of like Ability and Curiosity. And if I may be permitted to add my Opinion, I shall not scruple to say, that a Man ought to travel at several times and occasions to the same Court, to be well assur'd of Improvement, and that he has penetrated into the Maxims and Conduct of it.

Let any one judg after this, whether Impatience is not an invincible Obstacle to Curiosity, and how great a disadvantage they must be under, whose too great Vivacity precipitates 'em, and whose warm Temper exposes 'em rather to the Censure than procures 'em the Confidence of foreign Nations.

'Tis still much worse when a Man has not such a politick undetermin'd posture of Mind as to act with impartiality, and not to shew any prejudice or a strong inclination to the Maxims of his own Country on the one hand, and on the other hand an indifference for those of others. And this being the great and indeed the original fault that Men carry into other Countries, one can't too much argue against it, and shew the danger of it.

Universal Reason, which is the foundation of Policy, directs that a Man of Honor part from his own Country undetermin'd in his Mind, that is, so dispos'd to learn of all Men according to the foremention'd Passage of the wise Man; *Bona enim & mala ex hominibus tentabit; He shall try what is good and evil among Men*: That he may appear docile to every Man, and receive any one courteously who is willing to give him any Information. 'Tis not only useless but dangerous to travel without this disposition; for the diversity of Minds one meets with being the only remedy against Prejudice, an inconsiderate and heady Traveller often ruins his Health, as well as corrupts his Reason, by every thing which might otherwise improve the one and restore

restore the other. 'Twas this that made the late Elector Palatine say, *That Man is a fool that goes out of his own Country without hopes of returning with more Honor, Wisdom and Knowledge than what he carried abroad.*

This disposition being suppos'd will be followed by another, and that is, that a wise Traveller will never return undetermin'd in his Mind, as he was when he went out: But fully convinc'd what is the greatest and most solid Advantage, with which he has had the address to form his Mind in proportion to the Capacity he has had of casting abundance of differing matters together, only to extract out of 'em what might contribute to his improvement in Knowledge.

This temper of Mind is more easily spoken of than found; for the Mind must be moulded after an extraordinary manner to be capable of that docility which places a Man at the feet of others to learn their Instructions; and 'tis next to a Miracle to find a Genius of this Character, which is fix'd and solid enough to come to a determination in the midst of such a prodigious number of Maxims which all result from Reason as their Principle, tho the Effects they produce appear so opposite one to another. And again there is danger lest this docility with which a Man prepares himself in going abroad, should degenerate into Irresolution, Easiness, and servile Complaisance at his return. That which is to be seen in the greatest part of those who are willing to make too deep and prying a search into matters of Religion in prejudice to the establish'd Systems, who often by their too curious Enquiries are brought at last to sit loose from all Religion, and die in this irresolution of Mind, often happens to those middle-witted Persons whose Minds are tractable in appearance, but weak in reality, so that by

the very prospect of the many different Maxims of Government, they become incapable of governing; because their Minds are not endow'd with a vigor and heat sufficient to melt down all such matters together, and to extract out of 'em only what precisely suits with the Government of the Country in which they live.

One may every day see not only a great many Travellers, but even Ministers of State and Ambassadors, whose Minds are so fram'd, that their Heads turn round instead of becoming firm and stable at the appearance of so many different Circumstances and Measures. On which account the old Prince *Lubomirski* was wont to say, that *such sort of Men are sent abroad to learn the art of being regular Fools*. Indeed such Persons appear so little furnished with the general Ideas of Policy, and so deeply prepossess'd with the particular Maxims of their own Country, that their Weakness is discover'd almost as soon as they begin to talk.

To speak yet more plainly for the good of the publick, 'tis Ignorance that determines the Judgments of some Travellers; even before the Maxims of foreign Countries are known to 'em, they go from home so full of Prejudice, that they are resolv'd to return possess'd with greater Opiniatrety than when they went out: whence it comes to pass either that they can learn nothing because of their prevention, or else they see and observe so much that they can come to no decisive Judgment, like those who have more Victuals in their Stomachs than they have natural heat to digest. To this purpose the late Prince *Charles of Eorrain* us'd to say; *If these Travellers would learn with a design of improving in Knowledge, they would act becomingly; but to presume they know every thing, before they are capable of learning, is the way to become a distinguish'd Fop.*

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And Ignorance in this matter contains in it three respects, which the greatest part of the World does not sufficiently consider, at least they seldom or never unite 'em all together. The first regards the Principles of universal Policy; which Persons of ordinary Parts almost perpetually confound with the actual Determinations of the Government of their Country. 'Tis true, there are every where some Minds more sublime and judicious, who go to the bottom of things, and seek out means of repairing the Defects of the Politicks of their Country: but it generally so happens that Persons of this Genius are seldom advanc'd into favor, and meet with very little Respect in a State; whether it be that they want Docility to accommodate themselves to the Humors of others, or Submission to procure them Patrons, or Ambition to push 'em forward. It was of this sort of Men that the Duke of *Parma* once said, *They were of the same use to States, as Props to old Houses to hinder their fall.*

The second sort of Ignorance respects Persons of another Genius, who surpassing the former as well in Number as Authority, are in possession of the privilege of setting a value upon things, and giving weight to Decisions that are made: and hence it almost necessarily comes to pass, that that is suppos'd to be best and truest, which appears to be most authoriz'd, and most generally receiv'd. And this Mistake is almost irreparable, if we take the matter in general, in as much as the number of just and sublime Minds being every where very small, and that of narrow Capacities almost immense in proportion to the other; there is between both a sort of middle-siz'd Understandings, to whose Decision those of a subordinate Rank pay a blind deference, which produces that publick Impression which obtains on the generality of People, that such as fill

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the first places in any Government, are ordinarily the wisest and ablest Men. This popular Opinion is often heard without contradiction, and this silence encreases the number of the Suffrages that are given 'em, by which means People are confirm'd and rivetted in their Ignorance.

The *Dutch* with some appearance of Reason value themselves upon their scrupulous care of avoiding the first of these Instances of National Ignorance; because they indeed apply themselves more than any other Nation to dive into the Principles and special Uses of universal Policy: And we design hereafter to shew what is their Motive, and how it is supported, in a Treatise of the Politic Genius of the United Provinces. But they have too little firmness to keep 'em from falling into the second Error, which will always mightily check the Projects they lay in particular Determinations.

On the contrary, the *Spaniards* very stupidly fall into all the faults of the first Mistake by their negligence and contempt of the Principles of Universal Policy, which they seem not to know, but only so as to appropriate them to themselves without any distinction of Actions, Persons, Interests and Obstacles, which soils 'em at every turn, and defeats 'em in all Treaties. But they preserve among 'em the liberty of speaking with firmness of Mind about public Affairs against the second Instance of National Ignorance: and therefore the Duke of *Holstein Plehn* said one day at *Vienna* with a great deal of solidity; *By the first course the Dutch will support themselves a great while, but never advance very far: Whereas the Spaniards have enough to do to sustain themselves by reason of the actual weakness of their present Situation; but if ever they come to recover themselves, they can't fail of making a very great advance.*

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The third respect of this National Ignorance proceeds from the Indisposition Men are in to know others, by reason of the little sincerity and application they use to get the knowledge of themselves, which betrays 'em into frequent Mistakes, and occasions 'em to take the Faults of a Nation for the Genius of it, and the Art of augmenting those Faults (instead of mending 'em) for Motives of governing it. Nay more than this, Men are willing to misunderstand their own Properties which might be cultivated, and by that means neglect the Remedies by which they might continually rectify them.

Perhaps these Metaphysical Abstractions will not fute every body's Palat; but I have already declar'd that I speak in general without making a particular application of things, and am unwilling to offend any one. However 'tis certain that every Nation has its faults, its singular qualities, its bright and dark sides; and if an Instance of this be desir'd, the love of Riches will one time or other ruin the *Dutch*, but the indefatigable Industry they are capable of to acquire Wealth, will be their support a long time. Ambition is a fault in the *French*, which may run to dangerous Extremes; but their Valor and Activity will serve a great while to sustain 'em.

To avoid being ignorant of any thing that relates to this, both these are to be thoroughly consider'd, and exactly balanc'd one against the other; and a Man ought to be convinc'd by himself which side has the greatest weight, either to do the most Mischief, or procure the most Good. But in good earnest do Men usually begin their Voyages with such a preliminary Knowledge as this? And yet less than this will not suffice to travel to any purpose; and for want of this Discussion, Men carry nothing

nothing but Ignorance with them into Foreign Courts.

I could advance a great deal on this Head, but shall produce only two Examples, which may serve to instruct others, and 'tis in what I have been a Witness myself.

A certain Gentleman that made a good Appearance, and had very great Recommendations (a fatal help in a Foreign Court when a Man has not the art of supporting them well by his own Conduct) was ask'd by a Minister of State, What was the occasion of his Travels, because he seem'd to be of a weak Constitution, and considerably advanc'd in Years, and therefore probably had some particular design in view. The Gentleman ingenuously answer'd: *Sir, I travel to acquaint my self with Europe, and to take occasion hereafter to make my own Country acquainted with it. The Minister replied; If the Pencil that is to draw your Picture of Europe is like that with which you describe your own Country, there will be more Fancy than Truth in your Originals. Sir, I can scarce believe (return'd the Gentleman) that there are any more perfect ones than those I have left in my own Country. Upon which the Minister rose up and said, Sir, you seem to me to be rather struck with one certain Impression than to have a true knowledge of things; you'll judg of us by that in which you most excel: Have a care that you be not judg'd of here by that in which you are most deficient.*

This Stranger was cast into so great a perplexity, when he compar'd this Answer with the first Compliments of Esteem for his Country, and for the Recommendations he brought from thence, that he was quite nonplus'd. And tho he would several times fain have recover'd himself, and endeavor'd by great Expence, Industry and Conversation with ingenious Men to inform himself better than he had done;

done; all signified nothing but to give occasion to have it said to him at the end of eighteen Months, *Sir, you had need to come and consult us; you see a Man learns much if he knows but little when he leaves his own Country; and that he has made no small advantage, who has acquir'd by his Travels the art of Learning.*

The second Instance is of one who was sent with the Charge of a Negotiation to a Court, where he had Orders to tarry only so long as was necessary to perform his Duty, and to wait for an Answer. He came and lodg'd in a Publick House, where he was complimented on the part of the Chief Minister by an Abbot, who found him ready to sit down at Table, very much displeas'd at the way of dressing the Victuals which was prepar'd according to the gust of the Country: After the first Compliments were past, this Envoy could not help saying, *What sort of a Country have you here, Sir? Here is not so good eating as in other places where I have been, and nothing near so good as at my own Table. Sir, (said the Abbot) Men reason here as they ought to do, but do not much trouble their heads about the art of Cookery; that they leave to other Nations to carry to the highest pitch of Perfection they please. What (reply'd the Envoy) can there be just reasoning in a Country where every thing seems out of order? At which the Abbot rose up and said, You shall judg of our Country (if you please) by your selves; and we'll refer our selves in this matter to your Opinion, provided you don't pretend to subject ours to your pleasure.*

By the recital of this foolish Discourse of the Envoy, the Minister of State had a sufficient discovery of his Character: the day following he came to his Audience, where nothing was discours'd but State-Affairs; and as he was going out, says the Minister in a tone of Railery: *Be sure to get a good Dinner, Sir, and pray order your matters so as to dine with*

with me to morrow. The Envoy did not fail to come, and opposite to him was plac'd one of those secret Censors, who penetrate a Man as soon as he begins to open his Mouth, without regard to his Office, of which they never speak directly or indirectly. He was magnificently regal'd, and at the time when the Table allows a liberty of free Discourse; *Well Sir,* says this Censor, *how d'ye like this Country? There's nothing but Magnificence* (says the Envoy) *every where, but yet here's one thing wanting:* to which the other wittily reply'd; *If it be nothing but your Approbation, we can do well enough without it.*

Indeed this Envoy was not long enough at this Court to improve himself by it: for when he left it he was so entirely displeas'd with it, that by signifying his Disgust, he gave occasion to 'em to let him know a thousand ways, that they were every jot as much disgusted with him. At his return he made a ridiculous Description of this Court: but Men had need take care what they say, for there happen'd to be a Stranger in the company who made this disdainful Reply: *If your own Country* (said he) *could not furnish you with common Sense, how could you expect that a Court which you did but just pass through should teach you what you had no disposition to learn?* This Repartee was carried to that Court of which this Envoy had given so unsutable a Character, and 'tis certain he a long time pass'd there for the greatest Fool that ever was honour'd with a public Employ: These are the Effects of Ignorance, and a sottish Prejudice.

That is never to be learn'd in Travelling which 'tis suppos'd a well-bred Man ought to know before he engages in Travels. For the Principles of Society and Policy are so link'd together, that he that transgresses the former, renders himself ridiculous

diculous when he speaks, to signify some unjust Preference that he makes in it.

The confounding of a personal Determination of a Minister of State, together with a National Determination, is a second Stumbling-block, against which the greatest part of inconsiderate and raw Travellers break their Shins: Who when they are spoken to about the actual Symptoms of the Government of their Country, on purpose to put 'em upon discoursing, if instead of intimating by a wise Reply, that they know how to distinguish the Interests and Designs of their Country from the personal Motives of those who govern it, which on that account determine them otherwise, they confound them both together, they pass for Fools, and mere Butterflies, that always flutter about that which casts the greatest Light. And after a Man has once made such a false step, let him try as long as he pleases, he'll find it impossible to set himself right again in the Esteem of Men of sense, Railery will take its turn after serious Discourse; and the greater Expence he shall be at to introduce himself into good Company, the more ridiculous will he appear to 'em. And if you tell these stupid Creatures, or (if you please) these pretended Politicians, that they err in the first Principles of Policy, they'll treat you as a ridiculous and whimsical Person; nay some of 'em have been so ill-temper'd as to endeavour to render a Man suspected, for having had respect and kindness enough for his Country to advertise 'em of their Mistake.

The Faults of every Nation are known in all foreign Countries: Nay they compose divers Axioms of 'em, which are not altogether false; for after all, if they are not all of 'em absolutely true, there's something in 'em infallibly so. And whether

ther it be Prejudice or Time that has given Authority to this sort of Proverbs, 'tis certain whoever shocks 'em, goes for an extravagant Man.

The Art of Travelling teaches a Man to keep his equal distance from the Extremities of wholly denying, or wholly confessing such National Faults. For 'tis equally dangerous to err on either hand, which very few Persons consider: He that denies a Fault that is imputed to his Country, pulls an old House upon his head in irritating the People among whom he resides at present, which must needs be a great piece of Imprudence. Nor is that Traveller much wiser who falls into the other Extreme, that is, coldly and tamely to grant every Story that is impos'd on his Country; for tho he should captivate some vulgar Minds by this Air of Sincerity, he'll be sure to get the Reputation of a Fop among Persons of Note. 'Tis still worse when a Traveller grants that with which his Country is reproach'd, only to take his turn immediately to twit that Nation where he is thus attack'd with that Fault which is imputed to it in our Traveller's Country; for this is to insult over People at their own home, and therefore can't choose but irritate 'em. And the wisest Men will disapprove of any man's coming into a Country to reproach it with a Fault, which 'tis always asham'd to be thought to have, and perfectly hates to hear laid to its charge. What then must a Man do in this case? Why that which no body will ever teach you, if you neglect to learn it before you leave your own Country; And that is, to study well the Defects and Virtues of your Country by setting 'em in opposition one to the other, that so you may oppose 'em when occasion requires to what is imputed to you, and may speak of the one, without signifying any thing for or against the others, by entering into a particular

cular Examination and Confutation of 'em. By this Conduct you'll pass in Foreign Nations for a wise Man, by this means your Capacity will be known, and you'll be consider'd and esteem'd in proportion to the Knowledge you appear to have, and to the Advantage others may have of learning by you to become acquainted with a Nation which perhaps they never design to see. And since one Story draws out another, that which you give concerning your Country will infallibly procure you the knowledge of the Nation where you are; and by this Address you'll easily get a solid understanding of what you came to seek, namely, the discovery of the Genius, Policy, and Manners of a whole Nation. This is the Product of Skill in the Art of Travelling. I'll give one Instance which formerly touch'd me very sensibly. A certain *Italian* being in *Lithuania*, one of the principal Lords of the Country said to him in Conversation: *Whence is it, Sir, that the Italians never forgive an Injury? My Lord, reply'd the Italian, 'tis because they are never easily offended.* Now this being the great fault of the *Polish* and *Lithuanian* Nobility, the Repartee was very witty, and as it seem'd to me, the most subtil and ingenious Censure that a Man could pass on 'em. The *Lithuanian* Nobleman receiv'd the Impression of it so prudently, that he even affected to expose the fault of his Country yet farther, in making this return: *Sir, (said he) we should be as easily offended as you have been made to believe of us in your Country, if we could be capable of being displeas'd to hear the Truth told us with so good a Grace.* He afterwards presented him with a Horse, and order'd that he should be conducted at his Charge from his Estate, which lies within two days Journey of *Grodnow*, as far as *Dantzick*, whither this *Italian* had a mind to go.

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And now let any one put in the room of what he has been reading, such a disposition of Mind as the greatest part travel with, and he'll easily perceive what is produc'd by that busy Preference which determines on the first Prejudices, which are almost always false, and may easily judg by this whether it was not necessary to give the Publick a method of Travelling. I intend hereafter to treat of the Politic Genius of all the Courts of *Europe*, and hope the manner in which I shall discourse of 'em will sute the relish of the World; because I am to treat of the Facts and Maxims of common Use and Conversation, without which 'tis impossible to penetrate into the true Spirit of those Courts: And I shall begin with the Port, or Ottoman Court.

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